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HENRY GREVILLE'S DIARY

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LEAVES FROM THE DIARY

OF

HENRY GREVILLE

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EDITED BY THE

VISCOUNTESS ENFIELD

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SECOND SERIES

WITH A PORTRAIT

LONDON
SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE
1884

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A MEMOIR.

A WISH having been expressed in several quarters that a short Memoir of my uncle should be appended to his Diary, I shall endeavour to comply with this request to the best of my ability, and add it to the new volume which I am about to offer to the public.

Henry William Greville was the youngest son of Charles and Lady Charlotte Greville, and was born October 28, 1801, his only sister (my mother) being two years his junior. He was educated at Westminster and Oxford, but much of his childhood was spent on the Continent, chiefly at Brussels, where his family was residing at the time of the battle of Waterloo. I remember well his telling me how as a boy of fourteen, being very anxious to see the Duchess of Richmond's famous ball, the Duke of Wellington, who was a great friend of my grand-parents, said to

my uncle, 'Do you want to go to the ball? I'll take you,' and bade him be at his head-quarters by nine o'clock. The boy was of course punctual, but the Duke, having, possibly, some few matters to attend to, was not ready, and my uncle waited, I think, till early midnight in an anteroom, immensely interested and excited by the constant succession of officers, orderlies, and soldiers of every sort of grade, coming and going and receiving their final instructions for the march. At last the Duke appeared, and, true to his promise, took him to the ball, where, however, he did not remain very long. My uncle Algernon Greville, then a boy of seventeen, was an ensign in the Guards, and was present in the farm of Hougoumont during the attack.

I understand that Henry Greville entered the Diplomatic service in 1835, and retired from it in 1844. He had previously accompanied my parents to Ireland, in the capacity of private secretary to my father (then Lord Francis Leveson Gower) when he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and in 1834 the Duke of Wellington made him précis-writer at the Foreign Office—a post he filled for a few months only, when he exchanged it for that of

attaché to the Embassy at Paris. He was well fitted for this position; his extensive foreign acquaintance, his proficiency in French as well as Italian, his enjoyment of social life, and his universally acknowledged 'talent pour la société,' making him a welcome guest in that bright capital. My recollection of him is that everything interested him, and that what he did enjoy he enjoyed intensely. Without being an artist, he yet had the artist's eye; he loved the drama, being himself a very good amateur actor, but he was chiefly devoted to music—Italian music in the first place, though he could appreciate the German composers, especially Mendelssohn. As this book sufficiently indicates, he took a deep interest in the politics of his own country, as well as in those of foreign lands. Not that sedentary pursuits alone engrossed him, for as a younger man he loved field sports in moderation, and no one more thoroughly delighted in a good day's shooting, or a ride in 'the Dukeries,' Welbeck, Clumber, and Worksop, which occupy a portion of the old Forest of Sherwood.

He held for many years a minor post about the Court, that of a gentleman usher, which gave him a small addition to his income; for he was far from

rich during the greater part of his life. Nevertheless, I should not be doing justice to his memory if I did not mention how numerous were the kindnesses received from him by those who never could repay him save by gratitude or affection.

He died in his own house in Queen Street, Mayfair, after a somewhat lingering illness, on December 12, 1872.

A. H. F. ENFIELD.

LONDON: *May* 1884.

LEAVES

FROM THE

DIARY OF HENRY GREVILLE.

Worsley, September 18, 1852.—As Douro only arrived at Dover at five yesterday morning, the will could hardly have been opened, although the newspapers assert that it has been so, and that the Duke had left it to the Sovereign to decide how his funeral should be conducted. I think this is not probable, or consistent with his character, but all the newspapers which speak of the subject, consider it fitting that every possible honour should be paid to his remains.

The French press is tolerably fair on this occasion, with the exception of the 'Patrie,' which is a ministerial paper, and shows a pitiful spirit.

The President has started upon his progress into the south of France, and is everywhere met by Imperialist demonstrations and fulsome adulation from the clergy and constituted bodies. In an answer to an address presented by Mr. Charles Dupin as chief of one of the 'Conseils Généraux,' and in which he expresses the desire of the Conseil for the

stability of the President's power, &c., the President replies '*that, in matters affecting the public good, he takes the initiative; but when such matters are personal to himself, he follows in the wake of public opinion,*' which of course means he is ready to be Emperor if the country desires it.

September 21.—It seems certain that the only will made by the Duke was in 1818 at Paris, immediately after the attempt to assassinate him. Parkinson, his lawyer, had frequently suggested to him to make another, and the Duke always said, '*Depend upon it, I'll attend to it!*' but he never did.

Robert Grosvenor, who is here, has had a letter from Douro, dated the 19th, in which he says, after expressing his gratitude for his sympathy and that of the whole country, that he had received no instructions from Balmoral with regard to the funeral.

Public rumour gives the chief command of the army to Fitzroy Somerset or to Lord Hardinge, the Garter to the Duke of Northumberland, or Lord Lonsdale, or Lord Londonderry, (there is also the Duke of Hamilton's to be disposed of), Cinque Ports and Chancellor of University to Lord Derby, and the Lord Lieutenancy of Hants to Lord Winchester.

September 23.—A letter from Lord Derby to Mr. Walpole, and published by authority, sets the matter of the funeral at rest. It is to be public, and to take place at St. Paul's, but not until Parliament meets, 'in order that such honours should appear to emanate from the general will, and that the two

Houses of Parliament should have an opportunity, by their approving sanction, of stamping the proposed ceremony with increased solemnity, and of associating themselves with her Majesty in paying honour to the memory of one whom no Englishman can name without pride and sorrow.' This is generally approved of by the press, but the delay appears to me to be quite unnecessary and very embarrassing to the family, and likely to diminish the effect of the ceremony, which, if Parliament be not called together before November 11, must be postponed until the beginning of December.

Hardinge is to be Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Master General of the Ordnance. I think it would have been more popular had Lord Fitzroy been appointed to the chief command, as being more intimately acquainted with the business of the office, and because Lord Hardinge knows more of the ordnance. On the other hand, Lord H. has seen more service, and there is some degree of prestige attached to his name in consequence of his brilliant command in India. I saw a very sensible letter from Lord Anglesey to Lady Sydney in reply to one of condolence from her on the death of the Duke, and in which she had expressed the wish that if the command of the army were offered to him he would accept it. After a touching eulogy on 'that extraordinary man,' the expression of his sorrow for his loss, he gives all his reasons why, in the very improbable event, of his being offered the post by Lord Derby, it would be impossible, for political

reasons, that he could accept it. He then enters into all the difficulties such an offer would place him in, even from a Government to which he would be favourable, and the dread he should feel at encountering a comparison with such a predecessor, besides the great objection, that he is one year older than the Duke. He considers Fitzroy Somerset would be the proper man. This letter is, I am certain, a *sincere* as well as wise statement of his views.

September 29.—Lord Hardinge is gazetted and gone to Balmoral. I am sorry to find that Fitzroy Somerset is vexed and disappointed, and a peerage with the title of Lord Raglan will not gild the pill. He is conscions of being thoroughly conversant with the business of the Horse Guards, and ignorant of that of the ordnance.[1] I regret very much that he should be mortified. Prince Albert gets *two* regiments, which is certainly one more than enough, and it would have been more becoming had not the Government entirely passed by Lord Anglesey in these appointments, one of which is conferred on Lord Beresford, who is, I believe, doting. The Duke of Cambridge also gets a regiment. Lord Derby is sure of his election to the Chancellorship.

Ellesmere went to Manchester for a meeting to deliberate on the mark of respect that shall be paid by that city to the memory of the Duke. It was decided that a statue should be erected, and 2,500*l.* were subscribed *before the proceedings began.*

[1] Subsequent history fully justified the feelings entertained by Lord Raglan on these appointments.—Ed.

Heaton Park, October 2.—A letter yesterday from Holland, from Paris, tells me there is likely to be some delay in the proclamation of the Empire, in consequence of the difficulty of determining the line of succession. Fould and St. Arnaud wish to set aside Jérôme and his son; whilst the President, though nothing loth, fears that by passing over the only surviving brother of the Emperor he should offend the Imperialists. Fould and St. Arnaud see that, though Jérôme, after his divorce from Mrs. Patterson, was by a *senatus consultus* restored to his rank, the first decree, depriving him of his rank, is better known than the second, and the last might be evaded; but Jérôme being President of the Senate, and the archives being in his custody, he would probably take care that the decrees were not withdrawn. It is said that the accounts published in the 'Moniteur' of the enthusiasm in favour of the Empire whenever the President shows himself in the south of France are, if not mere inventions, grossly exaggerated; and this is confirmed by an eye-witness, who writes a letter to the 'Times' on the subject. Louis Napoleon is himself, Holland adds, weary of this 'enthousiasme de commande,' and ever since he left Lyons, writes in bad spirits. However, the truth of all this is by no means certain.

October 7.—Returned here (Worsley) on the 4th, on which day the Sidney Herberts joined our party. The Emperor of Austria had a mourning parade at Vienna of the whole garrison—at which he was present—in honour of the Duke, and he has ordered

that a similar ceremony shall take place in every garrison town in his dominions. There appear to be great naval armaments going on in France. There are now 22 ships of war in the Bay of Toulon, and orders have been given to fit 12 ships with screws. These warlike preparations frighten our naval men, who think—perhaps with some reason—that we are ill prepared, and that the Government and country show too much apathy on the subject of the national defences.

It is believed in well-informed quarters that Louis Napoleon's progress has by no means been attended with the enthusiasm which the Government organs would give reason to suppose by the flaming accounts published daily of his expedition.

Princess Lieven writes that she does not believe he intends to commit *the blunder* of declaring himself Emperor—at all events for the present; but if not, *pourquoi tous ces frais?*

Keele, October 9.—Came here yesterday and found Pahlen. There seems to be a good deal of vague alarm at all that is now passing in France, and at the state of our defences. It would appear to be almost certain that in the course of a very short time there must be a financial crisis in France, from which Louis Napoleon will imagine *war* to be the only means of extricating himself; and the only question he will entertain will be as to the *party* with whom he will deem it most expedient to pick a quarrel. Some think it will be Sardinia; others, that he will make an attempt upon England, or at least on some part of

the Queen's dominions. In the meantime the belief is gaining strength that, immediately on his return to Paris, where a great triumphal entry is to be got up for him, the Senate will be convoked and the Empire proclaimed.

I hear from Paris that no one likes to speak on political subjects, and certainly no well-thinking Frenchmen (if such there be) can contemplate the state of degradation and humiliation into which his country is plunged, without feelings of shame and disgust.

When waiting for the train at Patricroft, Evelyn Denison and I had a long talk on our political position, but without getting beyond the enormous difficulty of forming any other Government than the present. The Morning Post, which is supposed to be Palmerston's paper, has recently been discussing the probability of his joining the present Government!

London, October 17.—I returned here from Keele on Wednesday. I found a letter from Lady Holland, from Paris, giving a ludicrous account of the means resorted to by the police for getting up the so much vaunted *enthusiasm* on the President's grand entry into Paris, which was to take place yesterday. In consequence of a pacific speech made by Louis Napoleon at Bordeaux the Funds had risen considerably—but who can trust to anything he says?

Parliament is to meet on November 4.

All the great foreign States are to send military deputations to the Duke's funeral. The Times news-

paper, which contained the memoir of the Duke, published the day after his death, had a prodigious sale. Thirty thousand copies were disposed of in the first thirty-six hours! Jeffs, the foreign bookseller in the Burlington Arcade, told me that 50,000 copies of 'Napoleon le Petit,' by Victor Hugo, had been sold *here*, and that a new edition of 10,000 was now in the press.

Mrs. Stowe's book, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' has had the greatest sale of any book of modern times, and it is calculated that if she had received anything like a sum in proportion to the sale, she would have netted 50,000*l.* It is said she has cleared 10,000*l.*

I received last night a long and melancholy letter from poor Laszlo Karolyi's brother, giving me the details of his last moments. Nothing can be more touching than the expression of his grief. I hope we may one day become acquainted.

November 3.—I was laid up ten days with a very bad attack of influenza, and went on Wednesday last for change of air to Frognal; returned here on Monday. It has rained incessantly for a week.

In France, the Empire is merely a question of *days.* They have begun to squabble about the succession. It is now said that Jérôme and his son are to be put in the Line, but that the President means to reserve to himself the right of *adopting* an heir in case he has no son. It is believed that his marriage with the Princess of Wasa is settled; and as a preliminary, she has abjured the Protestant faith.

Jérôme told Holland that the President wished his son Jérôme to marry, but that a Princess was difficult to find. 'Il ne faut ni une Autrichienne, ni une Protestante, ni une Bourbon, mais vous seriez étonné des offres que nous avons!'

Credat Judæus!

November 9.—The Senate, by a majority of 86 out of 87 votes, has decided that Louis Napoleon should accede to the wish of France, and assume the Imperial crown! They reject, however, the proposal that Jérôme and his son should be declared to be the direct line of succession, and advise that Napoleon III. should (failing heirs of his own body) adopt one from the family of the Buonapartes. There was a good deal of discussion on the exclusion of the Jérôme branch. He consequently resigns the Presidency of the Senate, and is in high dudgeon. The reason given, however, for his resignation, is that the Emperor, by virtue of his office, is to preside over the Senate. The report drawn up by M. Troplong, of the Commission charged to examine the proposition for the re-establishment of the Empire, is clever and well devised for its purpose.

The Duke of Leuchtenberg is dead.

London, November 11.—The Duke's funeral is the principal topic of conversation—the difficulties of its arrangement, the probable length of the ceremony, and the scramble for places to see it. It pains me to think that the remains of this great man must be made the vehicle for a great *show*, but I suppose it is unavoidable. The body was removed

last night from Walmer, where all the inhabitants and the people of the neighbourhood had been admitted to view the coffin two days before. The lying in state is to take place at Chelsea Hospital, and to begin to-day for the Queen and Royal Family. To-morrow peers and peeresses and other privileged persons are to be admitted by tickets; subsequently the public to be admitted indiscriminately.

Intense curiosity is felt as to the contents of the speech to be delivered to-day by the Queen in person. It has not been communicated to any newspaper, but has been sent, as has been the custom of late years, to the leader of the Opposition, with a note from Disraeli to John Russell to say that, as the speech was very moderate in tone, he presumed there would be no necessity for an amendment.

It is believed there has been a difference of opinion in the Cabinet on the paragraph in the speech relating to financial matters, but that Disraeli had it all his own way. There is a rumour that John Russell and Cobden have had a discussion in an indirect correspondence, which has led to a rupture of intercourse between them. I believe the rumour to be well founded.

November 12.—The Queen opened Parliament yesterday with a very long speech, commencing with a paragraph upon the Duke's death, and the loss sustained by herself and the nation. It was very well expressed, and gives great satisfaction, which cannot be said of that other paragraph which treats of the

particular matter for which Parliament has been expressly called together. This is considered to be ambiguous and evasive, and was much commented upon during the debate on the address. This was moved in the Lords by Lord Donoughmore, and seconded by Bath, who acquitted himself fairly well. Lord Lansdowne then rose and made a fine panegyric on the Duke, after which he spoke of the paragraph on free trade in no complimentary terms. Derby and Brougham were also very eloquent on the subject of the Duke, and all three spoke strongly in favour of strengthening the defences of the country. Derby made a very long speech, throwing over protection at once, and admitting the extraordinary prosperity of the country, which, instead of attributing to free trade, he laboured to prove by statistics was owing to various other causes. In the Commons much the same thing occurred, except that Disraeli and Walpole gave different explanations of the free trade paragraph of the speech. The Government was attacked by Charles Villiers, who gave notice of a resolution affirming the principle of free trade; and by Gladstone, who showed considerable bitterness. Cobden declared it his opinion that the Government had been treated with 'immense forbearance' by the Peelites, instead of having been attacked by them as they complained. There was no amendment in either House, and Disraeli announced his budget for the 26th.

On the whole, the debates were damaging to the Government, and I think their existence mainly

depends upon the success or failure of Disraeli's financial scheme.

I went to-day to the lying in state. It was what was called a *private* view for persons furnished with tickets by the Chamberlain; but as he had issued 16,000, many people who had not taken the precaution of going early, as I did, could not get in. The doors were opened at nine, and shut at five. Before eight there was a string of carriages two miles in length, which continued all day. The weather was dreadful; it rained in torrents and blew a hurricane. It was on the whole well done, though it might have been better. There was too much heraldry and glitter, and some of the ornaments were in bad taste. But the Hall, in which the remains lay, was handsome, and nothing could be more imposing than the way in which the soldiers were ranged. The entrance and egress were well managed. Every one present wore deep mourning, and observed a decent and respectful silence.

November 13.—Several persons were killed and hurt to-day at the lying in state, so great was the crowd, and so bad the regulations of the police for maintaining order in their approach and departure. In the Hall itself, however, notwithstanding the multitudes, everything passed off with great decorum.

November 16.—There was a meeting at Derby's yesterday, at which 211 persons were present. He asked them to give him *carte blanche* as to how he should deal with Charles Villiers' motion whenever it should come on; to which they unanimously, and I

believe silently, agreed. It is believed that they do not intend to discuss it, at all events not to oppose it! I went with the Shelburnes to St. Paul's to see the rehearsal of the lighting. It was a curious scene: there were crowds of workmen and needlewomen, duchesses and smart people, and such confusion and noise, and proceedings apparently so little advanced, that it would seem a miracle that the cathedral should be ready by the 18th. The mode of lighting is very simple—gas running along the upper cornices, which has a very good effect; but the dome is not lighted sufficiently to show its great height. I expect that when all is completed, and the church filled, the effect will be very grand.

November 17.—Disraeli made a great panegyric on the Duke on Monday, which some people thought sublime, others bombastic, and which funnily turns out to be almost a literal translation of a passage of Thiers on Gouvion de St. Cyr. The weather is quite dreadful, rain having fallen in torrents for a fortnight; half the country is under water.

The streets presented a curious spectacle yesterday. Notwithstanding the rain, crowds of people were passing to and fro, such as I only remember to have seen during the last days of the Exhibition. Scaffoldings are being erected all along the line of procession from Apsley House to St. Paul's, and seats are selling for a guinea each.

November 19.—I thank God that the ceremony of yesterday is well over. It was a wonderful sight, and one which will never be forgotten by any one who saw

any part of it. The weather, which for a fortnight or more has been one unceasing downpour, even up to the dawn of yesterday, cleared up at seven o'clock and became very fine. This was providential, as it facilitated locomotion, and enabled the thousands of people to view the procession in tolerable comfort. I had an official ticket for the Cathedral, but thinking that, in consequence of the bad weather and the crowds, and the difficulty of getting there, it would be an endless affair, I reluctantly gave it up, and contented myself with going to Devonshire House, on the wall of which there had been erected a spacious gallery, and from whence I saw the procession admirably. I thought it a very grand and affecting sight. The bearing of the troops was admirable, and nothing could be more mournful than the sound of their *tramp* as the music ceased, and amidst the profound and respectful silence of the dense multitude. The music of the different bands was well arranged, never clashing, and well selected. The mourning coaches, which began when the troops had passed, were well appointed, but I thought the car bearing the remains was gaudy, unmeaning, and shapeless, and quite out of *keeping*. It was saved from being ridiculous by its colossal size, and by the splendid horses which drew it.

Every one who had *room* to get his hand to his hat took it off at the approach of the body, and the silence of the crowd was quite sublime. That which affected me the most was the well-known horse the Duke constantly rode, led by his groom,

with the boots reversed hanging on each side of the saddle; it looked so mournful and so familiar.[1]

The procession took one hour and three-quarters in defiling by Devonshire House. All those who were present at the Cathedral are unanimous in pronouncing it to have been the grandest and most affecting ceremony that could be witnessed. The music was very fine, and the effect of the chanting of the whole body of the clergy, which met the corpse at the grand entrance, is described as having been sublime. The Cathedral was quite full, and the entire congregation joined audibly in the Lord's Prayer. There was no difficulty in reaching or leaving the Cathedral, and it was cleared by five in the evening. One cannot but be thankful that it is over, and that all passed as one could wish; and nothing could be more striking and satisfactory than the demeanour of the populace throughout the day. There was no accident but

[1] [I may perhaps be permitted to quote here the following lines from my father's poem entitled 'The Eighteenth of November:'—

'E'en now, while all around to swell the funeral pomp combines,
While one deep sorrow thrills along a gazing's nation's lines,
Not by that steed unshared, who seems with falt'ring hoof the sand
To print, and, chafing as he steps, to miss his master's hand;
While trumpet wail, and chanted dirge, and tolling minster bell,
And lowered flag on mast and tower their mournful message tell;
While thunders from the war-ship's side, and booming rampart gun,
Proclaim our Israel's light is quenched, our hero's course is run;
In rustic homes and crowded towns, in lonely ships at sea,
While list'ners hold their breath to count those sounds—*fourscore and three!*
I turn instinctive from the state which decks the trophied bier,
To swarming street and scaffold piled with mourners tier on tier;
And, partner in a people's grief, I bless the fate which gave
My birthright in the grateful land he lived to serve and save.'—Ed.]

that of a man falling from the roof of Drummond's Bank; and no single case of disorder has been reported by the police, which is the more creditable when one reflects that there must have been considerably above a million of people assembled on the line of the procession. The weather to-day has been again very wet.

November 20.—Last night Lord Derby made a beautiful speech on the result of the Duke's funeral; nothing could be better. He alluded gracefully to the presence of Walewski at the ceremony, and after eulogising all connected with the proceedings, and the admirable conduct of the countless multitude, he concluded with an eloquent peroration in favour of peace; and as the best means of maintaining it, that we should attend to the precepts of him who, though the greatest of warriors, was perhaps the man among us who had the greatest horror of war, and who had inculcated in the strongest possible manner on every successive Government that, to maintain the security and permanence of peace 'every nation must have within itself those means of self-defence and self-independence which should not provoke aggression by its weakness, more especially if to that weakness be added the possession of boundless wealth'; and he trusted that, bearing this in mind, not only in words but in our actions and policy, setting aside all party and political considerations, we should concur in this opinion—that in order to be peaceful England must be powerful, but that if England ought to be powerful, she ought to be so only that she should be more

secure of peace.' This speech was received with great cheering, and will have a good effect.

Disraeli gave notice last night of an amendment to Charles Villiers' motion. It is nearly identical, only it does not affirm that the repeal of the Corn Laws was a wise and beneficial measure. There is to be a call of the House, and I rather expect the Government will have a majority, as all free traders who do not wish to eject the Government may conscientiously vote for the amendment.

November 22.—Miss Berry died last night without any suffering; she would have completed her ninetieth year in March. About five weeks ago I met her at Marochetti's studio, which she saw in great detail, but she has been gradually growing weaker ever since. She will be a great loss to a large circle of friends, who met constantly at her house; and she was almost the last link between the society of the present and past generation. She was a clever woman and a hearty friend, but I never happened to think her as agreeable as she was generally considered, which was probably my fault, and not hers.

Nothing is thought of but Charles Villiers' resolution and the amendment, which come on to-morrow, and no one seems to have any notion as to the probable result; but Derby, in answer to a question put by Clanricarde, as to the measures the Government intended to bring before the House, gave it to be understood that, if beaten, they should resign; and he read a lecture to the Opposition for bringing forward this resolution in the House of Commons.

He was answered in a very smart speech by Lord Wodehouse, who bids fair to make a figure.

Party spirit is running high.

November 28.—The debate on C. Villiers' resolution concluded on Friday. Palmerston came to the rescue of the Government, and produced an amendment of his own, or, as some say, one he had robbed; for it is said to be almost the same as Charles Villiers' original motion, before what Disraeli calls the odious epithets, '*Wise, just, and beneficial,*' were introduced. Disraeli accordingly withdrew his amendment, and after Charles Villiers' resolution was thrown out by a majority of 80, that of Palmerston was carried by a majority of *415*, only *53* voting against it. The Times justly observes, '*What next? After this, what can hinder the union of men so mutually indebted, ministers for their deliverance, Palmerston for a brilliant success?*' All the Peelites voted with Palmerston, which I do not think creditable, for they should have been the last to deny the truth of what the Government called the 'odious epithets.' The Whigs are furious with Palmerston. His speeches were rapturously cheered by the Government side of the House, and I have no doubt they look to his joining them on the first favourable opportunity. Sidney Herbert spoke remarkably well, and though voting with Palmerston, he violently attacked Disraeli and the Government. On the whole, the debates and resolutions have not been creditable to any one, unless perhaps to Granby,[1] who alone of the pro-

[1] Present Duke of Rutland (1884).

tectionists, not only declared himself unchanged and unable to vote for any one of the resolutions, but added that he thought some apology to the memory of Peel was due from those who had heaped calumny and abuse upon him, in which, however, as he had always given him credit for patriotism, he had never joined.

The country is inundated in a very extraordinary manner by the rain, which has fallen during nearly the whole of this month.

December 4.—Disraeli's Budget, produced last night, has not fulfilled expectation. The proposed changes are considered as very unimportant; and the only important one, the increase of the house tax, will probably not pass.

Panshanger, December 10.—I came here on the 6th, found Flahaults, Bessboroughs, Lord and Lady Craven, Bruces, Elphinstone, Dunkellin, and F. Leveson. It rains unceasingly.

Flahault is just returned from Paris, where he went to assist at the proclamation of the Empire, and to receive his Imperial Majesty's first embrace, being the last surviving officer on whom the first Napoleon ('l'autre faquin,' as Pahlen calls him) conferred a similar honour on leaving Fontainebleau or after Waterloo, I forget which.

Louis Napoleon is occupied with what he calls modifying the Constitution; that is, in taking to himself the miserable shred of power which had been given to the Senate and legislative body. They are now to originate nothing, and merely to vote on what

is submitted to them. All control over the finances or public works, or treaties—in short, over *anything*, is removed from them to the person of the Emperor. His Majesty takes thirty millions for his civil list, and gives Jérôme 1,500,000 francs per annum. *Pas mal!*

To-night Disraeli brings on his resolution on the Budget, and has announced that he means to stand or fall by the result. No one conjectures even how the division will be.

December 17.—The people above named went away on Monday, and were succeeded by Clanricardes, Cannings, Granvilles, De Mauley, Pahlen, Glyn, and John Fortescue. The debate on the Budget ended last night by the defeat of the Government by a majority of *19*, the numbers being 286—305, which is more than I expected. The greatest excitement has prevailed as to the result of the debate, and it was considered 'anybody's race.' The best speakers on this occasion were Charles Wood, Graham, Bernal Osborne, and Gladstone, who chastised Disraeli in a most masterly manner for his audacity and insolence; his speech made a prodigious effect.

The House adjourned till Monday, and it is expected that Derby will resign. The Duke of Newcastle, Clarendon, Aberdeen, and John Russell have met at Woburn this week, which is supposed to be *not without* a meaning.

Since writing the above, Norman Macdonald has brought us the *fact* that Lord Derby, after a Cabinet, had gone to Osborne.

December 18.—Various letters were received here

this morning. The rumours are that Lord Lansdowne or Lord Aberdeen will be charged to form a Government. The latter is the favourite. The Times of this morning contains a good article, advocating the combining of all the different elements floating in the political horizon.

Palmerston is ill with gout and influenza, and has taken no part in the late debate. Charles (my brother) and Norman Macdonald went to town this morning, and returned with the *fact* that after Derby's return from Osborne, Lords Lansdowne and Aberdeen were summoned there.

The Carlton Club is in a state of frenzy against the Peelites, though I don't see what right they had to expect any other course from them.

The reunion at Woburn, before alluded to, passed off very satisfactorily, and will, I hope, have paved the way to a good understanding between the Whigs and Peelites.

December 19.—I heard from Evelyn Denison this morning, who says that nothing could be finer than Gladstone's speech in answer to Disraeli's, who had passed all reasonable bounds of insolence, and that his shuffling had much damaged him.

Charles saw the Palmerstons to-day at Brocket, where they slept last night, but returned to town to-day. He said nothing that could commit him, but the impression at Brocket is, that if Aberdeen be at the head of the Government, Palmerston will not join him. He is not at all well, and some people think that if he had been able to attend the debate, and to

speak, he would have advised Disraeli *in a friendly tone* to withdraw and reconsider his budget, and thus have saved the Government—for the present, at least, and have still played the part of mediator, which seems to be, just now, his game.

December 22.—Lord Aberdeen having done everything in his power to induce Lord Lansdowne to take the Government, and all his efforts being ineffectual, has undertaken the office himself. Lord Lansdowne pleads his age and physical incapacity ; and his friends, much as they desire him to accept the Government, admit that he is unequal to it. He will do all he can for Lord Aberdeen, and probably have a seat in the Cabinet without office, to show his good-will.

In the meantime, Brooks's (Club) is very sulky and anti-Aberdeen—although their opposition to him is gradually waxing fainter, as they see that the only other course would be to allow Derby to come back in triumph, and that the Liberal party should surrender to him and his crew at discretion. Any personal sacrifice is preferable to so great a humiliation. Attempts, indeed, have been made by some of the more violent of John Russell's friends to shake him, and to prevail upon him to refuse his aid and concurrence, and at one time these attempts seemed likely to succeed ; but I believe he is now quite stout again. It is supposed that Aberdeen will propose to Palmerston to join him. Indeed, by the Times article of to-day it looks as if the offer *had* been made and rejected. The impression in London was that he would accept ; but *here* they think otherwise. His not joining is

sure to be a great source of weakness to the Government sooner or later.

Derby called his friends together on Monday, and about 160 were present. He promised not to abandon them, but preached moderation (!), although he used all sorts of inflammatory language in the course of his speech. In the evening he made a statement in the House of Lords, which was remarkable for the extreme bitterness of its tone and the inaccuracy of its assertions. The Duke of Newcastle made a very good reply. In the Commons, on the contrary, Disraeli did very well, apologised for any offence he might at any time have given, and showed on the whole a very favourable contrast to the exhibition made by Derby in the other House.

It was supposed that John Russell would have the Foreign Department, but the Times (which seems to know everything) says he will have a less laborious office, and that Lord Clarendon will take the Foreign Office. It was thought possible that Sugden might remain Chancellor, but I believe he declines. Brougham and Cranworth are both spoken of as likely to succeed him.

London, December 24.—I came to town yesterday, and was much pleased to find that Palmerston had accepted the Home Office. Lord Aberdeen, in the first instance, offered him the Admiralty; or, if he did not like that office, any other that he preferred. Palmerston was very cordial, and seemed pleased, but declined on the plea of the misconception which could not but attach to his taking office under Aberdeen,

with whom he had so long been in a sort of state of antagonism. However, he appeared friendly, and seemed inclined to support the Government. After this interview Aberdeen got Lord Lansdowne to go to Palmerston, and he at length induced him to join the Government. I saw William Cowper, who told me nothing could be more satisfactory than the whole transaction, and that his mother was very much pleased.

John Russell takes the Foreign Office on condition that if, at the end of a month, he finds it too onerous, Clarendon shall relieve him. Newcastle is to have the Colonies. There is a difficulty about Gladstone being Chancellor of the Exchequer, because he is pledged to the income tax in its present state, and I rather expect that Sir James Graham will take it. Wood is to be at the Board of Control, and Sidney Herbert, Trade. I foresee there will be great jealousy on the part of the Whigs at the Peelites being *all* placed, whilst many of the former are removed to inferior offices, or entirely omitted. I observed signs of this last night at Granville's, where we sat talking with Milnes, Stanley (of Alderley), and N. Macdonald until two this morning. The Whigs feel that they are *236*, and that the Peelites are only *36*, and have no right to so much of the spoil. This, however, must be in a great measure John Russell's fault, who ought to make a point of having a fair number of his adherents in office, if only as a matter of policy, that his party may be kept in good humour.

'*December 27.*—I went to Hatchford on 24th, and

returned here to-day, and found that Granville is to be President of the Council, that the Government is all settled, and most of the writs are to be moved for this afternoon. The Cabinet is composed as follows:

First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Aberdeen.
Chancellor	Lord Cranworth.
Foreign Affairs and Leader of the House of Commons	Lord John Russell.
Home Office	Lord Palmerston.
Colonies	Duke of Newcastle.
Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll.
President of Council	Lord Granville.
Board of Works	Sir William Molesworth.
Admiralty	Sir James Graham.
Board of Control	Sir Charles Wood.[1]
Chancellor of Exchequer	Mr. Gladstone.
Secretary at War	Hon. Sidney Herbert.

Lord Lansdowne without office.

Not in the Cabinet.

Post Office	Lord Canning.
President of the Board of Trade	Mr. Cardwell.[2]

Went in the evening to Lady Granville's, where there was a large assemblage of the new Cabinet and other minor officials. The Whig hangers-on are very sulky and disappointed, and I think they have some cause for complaint. It is unfortunate that this could not have been avoided; and, being as it is, my confidence in the chances of harmony and good-will being maintained is much diminished, and I think the future stability of the Government is much endangered by the discontent and jealousy already so apparent. The Whigs are more especially irritated by the appointment of two Peelites to the government of

[1] Present Viscount Halifax (1884).
[2] Present Viscount Cardwell (1884).

Ireland—St. Germans and Young; and they had particularly wished that Carlisle should be Lord Lieutenant, and which I think would have been a more judicious appointment.

January 3, 1853.—John Russell was elected to-day without opposition, and his speech gave satisfaction. I believe there will be no difficulty about the other elections, unless it be in that of Gladstone, who is threatened with an opposition.

Hatchford, January 6.—Came here on Tuesday, the 4th. The weather is very curious; the elements seem to be gone mad. It has rained nearly every day for seven or eight weeks, and it blows a gale nearly every night. Dudley Percival stands against Gladstone, and if the voting continues as at present, the latter will have a squeak for it. He had only a majority of *1* yesterday; this is not creditable to the University.

January 10.—The Duke of Norfolk is Master of the Horse.

Gladstone is now 86 ahead, but the apathy on both sides is great. Hook[1] is on Gladstone's committee, and has written a sensible letter giving his reasons for supporting a coalition ministry; whilst Bennett[2] votes for Percival, so that the High Church party is divided.

The northern Powers have at length acknowledged the French Emperor, and their ministers have

[1] Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds, subsequently Dean of Chichester, died 1875.

[2] Vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, now Vicar of Frome (1884).

presented their credentials. I believe the delay has been caused by the reluctance of Russia to employ the usual terms in which letters from one sovereign to another are couched; and it is reported that in the French Council of Ministers there was a discussion as to whether the Emperor Napoleon, in consequence of some omission in the form of the Russian credentials, should receive or return them. Be this as it may, Kisseleff has not only presented his credentials, but has been named Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy, instead of 'Minister on an Extraordinary Mission.'

Jérôme and his son and daughter assumed the title of Imperial Highness on January 1, and Princesse Mathilde (to my great amusement, recollecting as I do her career at Paris) has appointed a lady of honour (*une dame de place*), and is to have '*une maison*' and guards!!

The Duke of Wellington is to be Master of the Horse, and the Duke of Norfolk to be Lord Steward.

London, January 13.—Dined with the Granvilles. Met Baron Parke, Layard, and Charles Howard. Parke is very pleasant, and light in hand.

It appears that it was Rothschild who prevailed upon the Emperor Napoleon to make no difficulty about receiving the recognition by Russia in the manner offered. He went to the Elysée with such a face of anxiety, and told him there would, if this was not settled immediately, be such a financial panic, that the Emperor thought it best to swallow the affront. Cowley has also exerted himself to smooth difficulties.

The French funds are in a very uneasy state, and there have been several failures and defaulters. Amongst the latter is St. Arnaud, the Minister of War, Marshal of France, and the first Minister of State! They wanted to *post* him at the Bourse, but did not *dare*.

Beaudésert, January 21.—Came here on the 14th. Found Flahaults, G. Ansons, and a large family party. Lord Anglesey wonderfully well, and having killed his twenty head of game the day before—pretty well at *eighty-five*!

Yesterday Cowley wrote to Charles that Louis Napoleon is to marry the daughter of the Countess Montijo. She is a pretty girl—well born on her father's side: her mother, who was a very handsome woman, and whom I knew formerly at Paris, is the daughter of a man of the name of Fitz-Patrick, who was an English consul in Spain. These two ladies were in London last year, and I once met them at dinner at Lord Willoughby's. This marriage makes a very great sensation, and is not likely to be popular in France. The funds fell two per cent. on the 19th, and a *crash* seems imminent in the financial world, principally owing to the enormous speculations which have been encouraged by the Government, and perhaps a *little* in consequence of the marriage. There is a remarkably clever article in the Times of to-day on this event.

Flahault, in talking with Lord Anglesey of some of the old marshals, told us that Soult was very timid, and gave, as an instance, the following anec-

dote. When the disturbances broke out at Lyons in 1832, and the troops were driven out of the town, Louis Philippe sent the Duke of Orleans there, with Soult to look after and advise him. When they arrived at Chalons, Soult was so alarmed that he pretended to be too ill to go on. The Duke of Orleans, however, told him that he had been sent to Lyons by his father under very difficult circumstances; and as he felt he was too young to take upon himself the entire responsibility in this crisis, he was determined Soult should accompany him to Lyons, *dead or alive.* Accordingly Soult went, and soon recovered from his illness. Flahault said that the Emperor Napoleon did not estimate Soult very highly as a commander in the field, but he was an admirable administrator.

Flahault told us that at the battle of Dresden, when Moreau was killed, the Emperor knew some great man had fallen, but until ten days afterwards was not sure who it was. When he heard it was Moreau, he was disappointed that it was not Schwartzenberg, although he knew how inferior the latter was in military talent to Moreau. When Caulaincourt told this to Flahault, he asked him why the Emperor had expressed this regret; and he told him that he had always recollected that it was at Schwartzenberg's ball in honour of his marriage to Marie Louise that there had been the catastrophe of the fire, which he had considered as a bad omen, and he felt that Schwartzenberg's death would in some degree have effaced this superstitious feeling. Fla-

hault mentioned this trait as an instance of the '*disparates*' that existed in great minds. But if that of Napoleon *was* great, it certainly had many such *disparates*.

London, January 25.—Madame de Gontaut, whose letters are as clever as those of Madame de Sévigné, writes from Paris, 'L'événement du jour est une comédie: je puis applaudir ou siffler l'acteur. Je siffle; les Bourgeois sifflent à outrance; le peuple hurle; l'armée rougit de honte; les ministres soupirent; les confidents baissent les yeux; les Orléanistes se frottent les mains; les femmes de réputation équivoque meurent de jalousie.—Voilà Paris aujourd'hui.' She adds that Mrs. H. says to her dog, 'Thom, pauvre Thom, il n'est pas l'homme que nous avons cru. Il nous a trompés. Mords-le, Thom!' Paris is, as usual, ringing with 'mots' on this event. 'La passion de l'Empire a fait place à l'Empire de la passion' is cleverly said.

The Emperor's speech to the Senate announcing his marriage is not without cleverness, but it is not in good taste. It is rather cool to proclaim the advantage of avoiding royal alliances, when it is notorious he has been for the last eight months endeavouring to contract one; and it is ungenerous, when alluding to his determination not to humiliate himself by a protracted solicitation for the hand of any princess, to instance the marriage of the Duke of Orleans, 'by which the *amour-propre* of the nation was wounded, when the heir to the crown solicited fruitlessly during several years a princely alliance,

and obtained it only in a secondary rank and in a different religion.' The northern Powers will not be pleased with his allusion to 'des préjugés dynastiques;' and Austria in particular will not like to be reminded that it was 'a real satisfaction to the national pride when the ancient and illustrious house of Austria was seen to *solicit* (*briguer*) the alliance of the elected chief of a new Empire.'

I met Mrs. Grote to-day at Charles's. She read to us some interesting letters from Paris; one, in particular, from Léon Faucher, who has the worst opinion of the present state of affairs. He thinks the Emperor's marriage, which has made a great sensation in the provinces, as well as at Paris, is an enormous mistake, and that the Government is on the borders of an abyss. Mrs. Grote says no man is better acquainted with the interior of France, or a better judge of the state of feeling there, than Léon Faucher.

February 1.—Lord Melbourne (Beauvale) died on Saturday. He was a martyr to gout, and had long led the life of an invalid. He was a very clever and cultivated man, and one who had a peculiar quality of attaching his friends to him. He leaves his wife, thirty-five years younger than himself, in such a state of grief as almost to cause alarm for her life.

I read a letter from Thiers to Edward Ellice yesterday, upon the present state of France. He says, 'Le Mariage de l'Empereur a vivement blessé la vanité nationale;' and that the public has revenged itself by 'déchirant la pauvre jeune fille pour les

méfaits qu'elle n'a pas commis.' The speech to the Senate had increased the bad effect: 'Le défi jeté aux Puissances Européennes au lendemain du rétablissement du Trône,' was considered highly improper and injudicious.

Thiers believes that at this moment the intentions of the Government are pacific, and that we 'déployons trop de préparatifs de guerre,' and quite unnecessarily. He thinks a great financial crisis is 'retardée pour le moment' by the check which has been given to the mania for speculation by certain failures, and other causes which keep the money market in a state of great uncertainty. The Imperial Government is lowered in public opinion in an incredibly short space of time, and in order to 'rattraper ce qu'il a perdu,' it is expected that the Emperor will recall from exile the African generals, and do some other acts which are likely to be popular—perhaps modify the Orleans decrees.

The imperial marriage was concluded on Sunday, having begun on the Saturday evening with the ceremony of signing the civil contract, which took place at the Tuileries. I have had very graphic accounts of it all from Norman Macdonald, who was present at the *contrat*, and saw the procession pass through the streets; and also from Lady Essex,[1] who went to Notre Dame. I have also seen Delane, who went to Paris on purpose.

They all agree that it was a very magnificent

[1] This Lady Essex was *née* Miss Stephens, a somewhat famous actress, a clever, charming, and accomplished lady. She died in 1882.

sight. The equipages were very handsome, the troops superb, the cathedral admirably arranged, and gorgeously decorated with velvet, silk, and embroidery, and illuminated with countless lustres. The Emperor looked ignoble (as he must ever do), and seemed ill at ease in a uniform so tight that he could hardly move —his face flushed, and never looking from under his eyes but with that peculiar stealthy glance he has, with his eyes half shut.

The Empress was well dressed in a gown of white velours épinglé, with a jacket trimmed with large diamonds, a cestus of the same round her waist, and a magnificent necklace in front—a coronet of diamonds on her head, with a veil.

Delane thought her manner composed and dignified, and a great contrast, in every way, to that of the Emperor; but she was dreadfully pale. After their return from Notre Dame, the Emperor presented her on the two balconies of the Tuileries, facing the Carrousel and the garden, to the assembled multitude, she having previously changed her dress. Soon after this, six or seven travelling carriages, with four horses each, with postillions equipped in the old French style, with ribbons in their hats and long-thonged whips, drove into the court, and Lady Essex says the first hearty cheer was for them. Delane told me they were capitally got up, and had a very good effect; but it is curious that when they drove up the Champs Elysées on their way to St. Cloud, amidst a vast crowd of people, not one person took off his hat, or paid any attention whatever to the *cortège*, except himself and

his companion ; and this act of courtesy seemed to excite the attention of the bystanders more than the imperial pair ! He says there were no marks of *disrespect* during the progress to the cathedral, which he managed to see as well as the interior of the church, but there was nothing approaching to enthusiasm.

Norman Macdonald writes to me that no thunderbolt ever struck so suddenly or so unexpected a blow as did the announcement of this marriage. His real friends and his best counsellors, such as Persigny and Drouyn de l'Huys, remonstrated against it. Paris, in general, laughed, ridiculed, and wondered. The Duchess of Hamilton and Princesse Mathilde gave him to understand, in an indignant way, the dislike with which they regarded it. He merely smiled, twisted his moustache, and said *it was done.* Besides being passionately in love (for that he is), he was not sorry to show the northern Powers, with whose tardy recognition he is furious, that if they do not wish to have him, he on his part is equally anxious to keep aloof. The preparations, therefore, commenced, and no heed was taken of the various marks of ill humour shown by some members of the family, one of which was the positive refusal of the Princesse Mathilde to go in the same carriage with her father and brother, both of whom she abhors. It was then proposed that she should share a carriage with the Montijos, whom she equally detests, but at last succeeded in having a carriage to herself ! The Salle des Maréchaux, in which the ceremony of the civil contract was performed, is magnificent, and was a blaze of gilding, uniforms, and jewels. Nothing, Norman Macdonald says, could be

more diverting than the manner of the different *témoins* as they came up to sign their names. Jérôme bowed as he passed the Emperor, but took no notice of *her*. The republican Prince bowed neither to one nor the other. Morny was the last person called upon to sign. This being finished, their Majesties retired for half an hour, and then went in procession to the theatre, which was filled *d'avance*, and was a blaze of light and jewels. An ode was then sung, of which it was not easy to say whether the poetry, music, or execution was the worst. Norman confirms all Delane told me of the attitude of the people, curiosity being the only strong feeling shown. As to the future, he thinks much will depend upon the Empress herself. If she has good sense and good feeling, and chooses to exert her influence over him, which at this moment is paramount, so as to clear his Court of the robbers and disreputables who surround him, she may make a very strong position for herself. The French will like to see a pretty Empress galloping at the head of a regiment; but any more scandal, or addition to the disrepute in which the imperial *entourage* is held, would be fatal. Persigny is the only man belonging to him whose character has risen with his present position. There is an idea prevalent of his perfect honesty, his real attachment and devotion to the Emperor, and of the modesty and good sense with which he has carried out his duties.

Friday, February 11.—The session began last night. Lord Derby tried to provoke Lord Aberdeen to make a statement of the measures he means to

propose; but all in vain—Lord Aberdeen made no answer at all. John Russell's statement in the House of Commons gave satisfaction. The Reform Bill is postponed until next session, which, though cavilled at by the ultra-reformers, is very wise.

There has been an attempt at insurrection at Milan, got up by Mazzini, who issues sanguinary proclamations, but carefully keeps aloof himself from the scene of danger, and remains in Switzerland. Kossuth at the same time publishes a proclamation to his 'brother Italians,' but his day is gone by.

Saturday, February 12.—The Milanese insurrection was soon put down, but not without a good deal of bloodshed.

Charles Wood has made a speech to his constituents at Halifax, in which *à propos* of universal suffrage, and the small security it gives for a Liberal government, he instances France, and makes some very strong allusions to the manner in which Louis Napoleon has gagged his own press and that of Belgium, and 'he thanks God' that he cannot gag ours. All very true, *mais toutes les vérités ne sont pas bonnes à dire*, particularly by Cabinet ministers; and the consequence of *this* truth is that Clanricarde, much to the surprise and disgust of his former colleagues, has given notice of 'a motion for the correspondence relating to the recognition of the French Empire, and that he should take the opportunity of calling the attention of Government to a speech lately delivered at Halifax by a Cabinet minister.' This is an overt act of hostility, and done in bad taste. As a

proof that it is so, Disraeli has given the same notice in the House of Commons.

February 13.—Called on Lady Clanricarde, being curious to see if she would allude in any way to Clanricarde's motion. Pahlen, Bessborough, Stanley, and others were there, and she talked very fast upon divers subjects, but never went near English politics. I had a long, pleasant visit from Joseph Mareuil, who has quitted the diplomatic career, and declines serving Louis Napoleon, of whom he has the worst opinion. He gave me some curious details of the means resorted to in the provinces—and especially in his own—to secure the success of Louis Napoleon's plébiscite, and of the power of the Government, and the utter helplessness of the governed.

He told me that St. Arnaud has in his possession the written order from Louis Napoleon to bombard Paris on December 2, in case it were necessary for the *coup d'état*; and that he sent this order to England that it might be in safe keeping, in case of its being useful to him at any future time against his lord and master!

Truly they are a precious *lot*!

February 15.—Clanricarde put his question last night, as did Disraeli in the other House. Lord Aberdeen answered very well, and declared the relations between France and England to be on the most amicable footing; that though perhaps the expressions used by C. Wood in his speech to his constituents were not so respectful as might have been used towards the sovereign of a foreign country,

he thought the argument a legitimate one, but that at all events C. Wood regretted having used any expressions which could be considered as offensive to the Emperor. In the other House John Russell read a letter from Wood—who was too ill to attend—to the same purport.

It passed off well for the Government, and Clanricarde has gained nothing by his motion. The Chancellor stated the intentions of the Government with respect to legal reform. He was lengthy and not very powerful, and Lord St. Leonards expressed his disappointment at most of the measures in contemplation.

February 17.—I was in waiting yesterday at Buckingham Palace, when the Queen received on the throne the address of the convocation of the clergy. She made a very succinct, courteous, but firm reply, which she delivered remarkably well; her enunciation is singularly clear. The Emperor Napoleon has opened his legislative session with a speech which is intended to be pacific, and which, on that account, has been well received. France has no desire for war. He announces a further reduction in the army of 20,000 men, 30,000 having been reduced in the course of last year; but I do not believe this is a *bonâ fide* reduction. The Walewskis are returned, but it is supposed that they will soon make room for Persigny, whose opposition to the Emperor's marriage makes his position at Court very awkward.

Saturday, February 19.—Disraeli put some questions to the Government on our relations with France last night in a long, clever, and rather mischievous

speech; and for no other purpose, it would seem, than to attack the Government in general, and Graham and Wood in particular for their speeches on the hustings. John Russell and Graham answered him remarkably well.

In the evening I went to the Granvilles, where were Cowley (who is come over for a few days), Baring Wall, and Layard. The two latter had an amusing argument on the effect of Disraeli's speech, which Wall considered to be immense, while Layard declared it was merely a bad and mischievous speech. Cowley thought that nothing that Disraeli said would have any effect upon the French Government.

February 20.—I received yesterday evening a letter from Mrs. Craven, dated February 6, giving me the account of some theatricals which were preparing at their house at Naples, and in which she said Belfast had much distinguished himself; and I had hardly read this letter when I received a *pacquet* from Lady Granville enclosing another letter from Mrs. C., dated subsequently, but which had come by the same post, and in which she announces the death of Belfast, caused by scarlet fever, which he had not the strength to throw out. It is impossible to conceive a more deplorable event. The best of sons, and an only one, excellent and accomplished, and, withal, modest and painstaking, and anxious to do right; and I have no doubt that, had it pleased God to spare him, he would have spent his life more usefully than most other young men. I liked him very much, and regret him sincerely, and cannot think of his mother without the deepest commiseration.

An attempt was made on the life of the Emperor of Austria on Thursday last, the news of which reached London by telegraph on the following day. He was leaning over a balustrade on the rampart, looking at some troops exercising below, accompanied by his A.D.C., Count O'Donnell, when the assassin came behind him and struck at the back of his neck. O'Donnell had just time to arrest the blow, but not before it had grazed and in some degree entered the bone near the nape of the neck. The man was taken, and the Emperor walked to the Archduke Albert's house, where the wound was dressed, and by the last account was doing well.

February 22.—Yesterday I made acquaintance with poor Laszlo Karolyi's brother Louis, who is come here Secretary of Legation. We met like old friends, and not without emotion. He reminds me much in voice and countenance of his poor brother.

Thursday, February 24.—I hear from Vienna that the Emperor's wound, though not positively dangerous, is more serious than was at first supposed. Great enthusiasm for him is felt on this occasion, and he is said to have shown great *sang-froid*, for he merely observed, 'Ma seule consolation est que je partage le sort de mes braves soldats à Milan,' alluding to an insurrection which has lately broken out, and with which it is supposed this attempt on the Emperor's life is connected. At Vienna they pretend to think that we are in a great degree answerable for these atrocities by harbouring Mazzini and Co., and suffering the incendiary proclamations emanating from

these men to be printed and circulated, and which incite the ignorant and deluded people to assassination and revolt. But what can we do? We have no means of preventing it; and it *may* be a defect in our system of government that it should be so, and it may be natural that other Powers should complain; though perhaps, instead of venting their indignation and ill humour in abuse of us and our institutions, it would be better for them if they would set about improving their own systems of government, and endeavour to remove the real grounds there are for discontent and disaffection.

February 25.—The Jew Bill was carried last night in the House of Commons by a majority of 29; one vote less than on the last division, and proving that sympathy for this cause is on the wane.

A large dinner at Granville's—Walewskis, Flahaults, Lord Anglesey, Colonel Fleury, A.D.C. to the Emperor Napoleon. A party in the evening. Much struck by the beauty of Lady Mandeville,[1] *née* D'Alten.

February 27.—Bob Dundas told me last night that he heard from the Westmorelands, from Vienna, that nothing could exceed the exasperation felt there against us, attributing to us (for harbouring Mazzini, Kossuth, and Co.) both the insurrection at Milan and the attempt on the Emperor's life. Nothing but the personal popularity of Westmoreland prevents his being insulted in the streets.

Talking over this matter afterwards at Granville's,

[1] Present Duchess of Manchester (1884).

and the possibility of our doing anything to prevent the refugees from abusing our hospitality, by issuing incendiary proclamations and conspiring against Foreign Governments, it was said that, although we had no power to expel them, there was an Act under which they might be tried and prosecuted upon evidence, and if convicted they might be imprisoned or sent out of the country; but that such trial would be by jury, and that it would be a matter for consideration on the part of Austria, or any other foreign Government, whether it would be worth their while to run the gauntlet of an exposure of their systems of government such as would certainly be made by skilful and unscrupulous counsel in defence of the accused. I think it might be worth while civilly to give the option to the Governments, and to evince some desire of satisfying as much as we can their just complaints.

There is uneasy news from Constantinople. The Austrian Government declines the professed mediation of England and France in the Montenegrin dispute, and Turkey on her part declines acceding to the ultimatum. The Austrian Legation was about to quit Constantinople.

March 1.—The Austrian and Turkish difference is adjusted, and we hear by telegraph that Count Leiningen had left Constantinople, all his demands being acceded to. The Emperor of Austria has been very seriously ill, his wound having caused concussion of the brain.

Last night the Minister Massimo d'Azeglio, who

is here on a visit to his nephew (who is sarcastically denominated Minimo), came to the Granvilles. He is a tall pleasing man, with a quiet and natural manner, and converses very agreeably.[1] He seems greatly depressed by the general state of Italy, although he assured us that the constitutional system was every day taking stronger root in Piedmont, and that the monarchical spirit is very strong; but they were well aware that both to Austria and France the constitution of Piedmont was odious. He said that he thought hereafter in history this epoch would be described as *that of the eclipse of logic*; for the Powers which had been overthrown, owing to the gross abuses of their Governments, and had experienced such terrible vicissitudes, instead of profiting by their experience when they regained their free agency, and reforming their systems of government, had laboured, on the contrary, not only to put everything back into its former state, but to increase and aggravate all the causes which had led to the universal outbreak of 1848; and it was his belief that, sooner or later, the same scenes would have to be re-enacted. I paid a melancholy visit to Lady Donegal, and found her so far better than I expected that it appeared to be a relief to her to talk of her misfortune, and of the perfections of the poor boy. On leaving her I went to see the Duke of Devonshire, who told me of the Dowager Duchess of Bedford's

[1] He was the author of some clever and agreeable Italian historical novels, some of which have been translated into English, and in other respects was a highly accomplished man.

death, at Nice, on the 21st; which shocked me, as I had had a letter from Lady Abercorn, dated the 16th, merely saying that they were all well '*except mamma, who has a cold.*'

March 4.—The Emperor of Austria's state gives great uneasiness: for six days he was in imminent danger; and although the bulletins are more favourable, there is still much cause for anxiety. The Archduke William is named his deputy until he is able to transact business.

The assassin Liberg has been executed. No information was elicited from him, and it is not known whether he was connected with any other parties.

March 5.—Last night Lord Lyndhurst put a question to the Government as to whether any communication had been made to them by Austria respecting the refugees. As usual, he made an excellent speech, deploring all that had occurred on this question, and the irritation of Austria; but at the same time he stated it to be his opinion that no new law would be necessary to prevent the refugees from abusing the hospitality afforded to them by this country, and to punish offenders against international law; that under existing Acts they might be prosecuted either by the Crown, or by any foreign Power, on sufficient evidence being adduced to warrant a prosecution. Lord Aberdeen replied that communications had passed, but that no *demands* had been made by Austria respecting the refugees; that it could not be denied that irritation did exist, not only in

Austria, but in other countries; and when the most atrocious proceedings were connected with the residence of refugees in this country, the feeling, though erroneous, was not to be wondered at. It was the duty of this Government, no doubt, if in possession of proper proofs that refugees were abusing the hospitality afforded them, to take the initiative in prosecuting them; and it had already been determined, in case any just cause for complaint should arise, to institute a prosecution on the part of the Crown against the offenders. Brougham, Truro, and the Chancellor all spoke in the same sense, and I hope this discussion will have a good effect.

Government got a majority of 83 on the Canadian Clergy Reserve Bill. Pakington spoke very well, but his arguments were demolished by Gladstone in a wonderful speech, which was immensely cheered by the House. A good many of the moderate Derbyites voted with the Government.

Pakington is evidently *bidding* for the lead of the party in case of a fall-out with Disraeli, who is said to be very jealous of Pakington, and for whom he shows a great contempt.

At Lady Jersey's, this evening, a pattern of the knife used by the assassin Liberg was shown: a long kitchen broad-bladed knife, sharpened on both edges —a very formidable weapon.

March 16.—The topics of interest of the last week have been the discussions on the proposed legislature for India, before the committees of the two Houses present their reports, and which seems likely to be

a great cause of embarrassment to the Government, unless they make up their mind to postpone their measures for a year—a *mezzo termine* much advocated; and also the election petitions. The committees are very severe, and have almost in every instance, where bribery and treachery have been the grounds of petition, unseated the sitting members. St. Arnaud has retired from the Ministry of War on the plea of bad health.

A telegraphic despatch has brought the news of the death of Marshal Haynau, by apoplexy.

The Emperor of Austria has appeared at a *Te Deum*, and at the theatre, and was received with transports of enthusiasm. It is supposed that he does not altogether approve of the rigorous measures enforced by Radetzky and Giulai in Italy, and particularly of the confiscation and sequestration of the property of the Lombard emigrants, many of whom have become Piedmontese subjects.

March 18.—I went to-night with Lady Monson and Fanny Kemble to Exeter Hall to hear the 'Hymn of Praise' by Mendelssohn, and Mozart's Requiem, conducted by Costa. It was a magnificent performance of two sublime compositions. The first is very Protestant in tone—grand and simple; the other, Catholic—florid, and, in comparison with the other, operatic, but full of exquisite melody. In the Hymn, the great chorus of 'The night is departing,' and the chorale that succeeds it, are glorious. In the Requiem, the 'Dies Iræ,' and 'Dona pacem,' and 'Benedictus' are the most striking pieces, but the two com-

positions are too exciting and fatiguing to be heard together on the same evening.

March 29.—The public mind has been much agitated by news from the East. Prince Mentchikoff has been sent on a mission to Constantinople to demand the revision of the firman granted by the Sultan to the French, respecting the holy places. Colonel Rose,[1] in consequence of this difference, sent to Admiral Dundas to ask him to despatch the English fleet towards Constantinople. This, together with the sailing of the French fleet from Toulon, caused the funds to fall rapidly and heavily. Dundas, however, wisely declined sending the fleet, and the affair is in a fair way of adjustment.

I do not believe that Russia has any desire to go to war, but that she was forced to take this step in consequence of the course pursued with reference to this question by Lavalette, whether with or without the orders of the French Government I do not know.

Malmesbury is at Paris, and has been received *à bras ouverts* by the Emperor.

The cold in the last month has been intense, and a quantity of snow has fallen in the north of England and of Europe generally—so much, indeed, as to interrupt communications.

March 30.—Walked to see Marochetti, who is busy on a statue of Prince Arthur, as a surprise from the Prince to the Queen on her birthday. Saw the statue of the Queen for Glasgow, which on the whole

[1] Subsequently Sir Hugh Rose; now F. M. Lord Strathnairn (1884).

I admire. The ex-minister Azeglio has taken a studio close to Marochetti, and is painting pictures for sale: some of them appeared to me to be very clever.

The second edition of the newspapers announce the termination of the Caffre war—and also of the Burmese; but in an expedition against a robber chief, I regret to say Granville Loch[1] and Lieut Kennedy lost their lives.

A deputation from the merchants and inhabitants of London (the City) have waited upon Louis Napoleon at Paris, to assure him of their feelings of good-will towards his Majesty and his Government. This is meant to atone for the strictures in our press, and is, I think, rather a *cocktail* proceeding. The deputation was, of course, most graciously received.

April 5.—Parliament met again yesterday. In the House of Lords Lord Campbell called the attention of the House to the address lately presented by the merchants of London to Louis Napoleon, and declared his belief that it was an illegal act. Clarendon replied that he thought Lord C. went too far in pronouncing the presentation of the address as an offence against the law of nations; but said that although the address had been showed to him, and that he saw nothing objectionable in its expressions, he had not given it the sanction of the Government, and had distinctly refused to instruct Lord Cowley to be present when it was laid before the Emperor.

[1] Granville Loch was the brother of the late George Loch, M.P. for the Wick boroughs. He was a very promising young naval officer. A bas-relief to his memory has been placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. He is represented waving his sword and leading his men to the assault.

Malmesbury (of course) said something in favour of the presentation, and that the effect had been favourable at Paris; upon which he got some sharp remarks from Lord Ellenborough, who said that the whole proceeding filled him with unqualified disgust.

In the Commons, John Russell stated the intentions of the Government with respect to the education of the people. His plan was, on the whole, received with favour, and is more of a permissive, suggestive, and auxiliary, than novel nature. Ellesmere has been requested, and has consented, to go to the United States to represent England at the great Industrial Exhibition at New York.

April 8.—The Queen was brought to bed to-day of a son.[1]

April 9.—Gladstone brought on the Government proposition for the reduction of the interest of the national debt. Baring Wall—whose opinion (when he is not paradoxical) is, I think, of value—told me he never had heard anything better than Gladstone's statement, and that the impression on the House was very good. Baring Wall thought no other *possible* Chancellor of the Exchequer could have done so well.

The Austrian Government having turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Sardinian Government against the confiscation of the Lombard property of naturalised Piedmontese subjects, Revel, the Sardinian minister, has left Vienna. Buol did not attempt to defend the legality of the measure, but, on the contrary, admitted 'que la légalité nous tue: c'est un coup

[1] Prince Leopold.

d'état si vous voulez,' &c.; the simple fact being that it is an acknowledgment of the revolutionary principle in all its force.

April 12.—The Canada Clergy Reserve Bill passed the House of Commons last night by a majority of 80. Great interest and curiosity is felt respecting the Budget, which is now the chief rock ahead for the Government. They keep the secret very well, and there is not even a surmise as to the nature of Gladstone's proposition for the modification of the income tax.

I had a very pretty party last night, for the amusement of my nieces before their departure for America. I have rarely seen a larger assemblage of pretty women in a small space than were collected here, and by which my foreign guests were greatly struck.

April 16.—The Government has been twice beaten during the last week: first on a motion for continuing the allowance to Kilmainham Hospital, and then on Milner Gibson's motion for 'removing the taxes on knowledge,' when all the Derbyites, who had voted exactly the other way last year, went, to a man, with Gibson and the Radicals. These defeats are very injurious to the Government, and prove that they may at any time be left in a minority when the Derbyites and Radicals combine, which Disraeli and Co. show they have no scruple in doing whenever an opportunity occurs of damaging the Government.

Ministers are a good deal annoyed at this defeat just on the eve of the Budget, and if the latter does

not meet with favour, and should the Opposition be factious, it is probable they will resort to a dissolution.

A seizure of arms, evidently intended for foreign exportation, has been made at a house at Rotherhithe, in consequence of information furnished to the Government, some little time ago; and Kossuth is supposed to be implicated in the affair. Questions were put to Palmerston by Sir Joshua Walmesley, T. Duncombe, and Dudley Stuart. Palmerston was exceedingly facetious; replied that a large quantity of hand grenades and rockets, 'evidently not intended for Vauxhall,' had been seized, but declined answering as to the supposed implication of Kossuth. He is following this affair up with great vigour, and it is curious enough that it should fall to Palmerston's lot as Home Minister to bring Kossuth to justice (supposing there be any proof against him), after all that had passed as to his reception of him some time ago. I don't believe, even if they can trace the affair to Kossuth, the Government can do more than prosecute him for a misdemeanour, but it may have the effect of alarming the other refugees who are similarly engaged, and of showing them that the eyes of the Government are upon them.

April 18.—Dined yesterday with the Molesworths, Duchess of Inverness, Clanricarde, Goderichs,[1] Ernest Bruces, Bernal Osborne, Charles Villiers, Hayward, and Delane. I sat next to the last-named, and asked him whether the announcement in the Times of the con-

[1] Now Marquis and Marchioness of Ripon (1884).

nection of Kossuth with the late seizure of arms had not been premature. '*Oh no*,' he said; '*it is all right*.' *À propos* of the Budget, and of the secrecy which had been observed regarding it, he said he should be very much surprised if he did not know what it was. I asked him if he thought 'it would do.' He said '*Yes*,' so that I conclude he means to write it up. He told me that, after hearing Gladstone's statement to-night, he should write his article without ever referring to the notes of his reporters, which, if true, is a remarkable feat of intelligence. But Delane *is* a very sharp fellow. The dinner was too large for general conversation, but, even when smaller, I never heard Molesworth talk at all at his own table. He told me he was much out of heart at the conduct of the House of Commons, and of those who styled themselves *Liberals*, and who took every opportunity of destroying the prestige and usefulness of the Government by supporting such motions as that of Milner Gibson, purely of a financial measure, four days before the production of the Budget. He truly said they were doing their best to make *all* Government impossible, and to discredit representative institutions.

April 19.—Gladstone spoke for five hours last night, and was so wonderfully lucid and clear that the attention of the House never flagged for a moment. Indeed, every one of all parties agree in pronouncing this speech to be a most extraordinary effort, and as at once placing him in the first and highest rank of statesmen. His Budget is bold and comprehensive: bold, because it manfully puts a decided negative on

the question of the remission of the income tax upon trades and professions, which, although founded on fallacy and error, is extremely popular in the country, and to which Disraeli had yielded in order to strengthen his miserable administration. On the whole, as far as one can judge, the Budget gives satisfaction, though the duty on successions to land is by many considered a great blow to the aristocracy, and this clause will of course meet with violent opposition. Lord Overstone said he considered this Budget as a '*great scheme, founded upon just and sound principles*;' and he is an authority. There was a good division and majority against Lord Winchelsea's motion on Maynooth. Lord Derby made a very droll speech in answer to a rather unprovoked attack from the Duke of Argyll.

April 22.—On Wednesday called on Lady Shaftesbury. Met Lady Palmerston there — both much displeased with the succession duty, which they think very Radical and unprincipled. I thought Lady Palmerston seemed rather provoked at the enormous success of Gladstone. John Russell wrote him a note after his speech, and said the only criticism he could apply to it was that quoted by himself as having been made on one of Pitt's great financial statements, when proposing the income tax, by Mallet du Pin in a periodical which he edited:—'From the time that deliberative assemblies have existed I doubt whether any man ever heard a display of this nature, equally astonishing for its extent, its precision, and the talents of its author. It is not a speech spoken by a minister;'

it is a complete course of political economy; a work —and one of the finest works—upon practical and theoretical finance that ever distinguished the pen of a philosopher and statesman. We may add this statement to the learned researches of Adam Smith, Arthur Young, and Stuart, whom the minister honoured with his quotations.'

April 24.—Great doubts were entertained as to the result of Derby's amendment on the Canada Reserves Bill, which comes on to-morrow.

April 25.—Deplorable weather the last few days; intense cold and snowy rain. Evelyn Denison told me he thought the Budget would pass the House of Commons triumphantly, and that its popularity in the country was undoubted. Lord Grey, who was dining near us at the Travellers', was of the same opinion.

April 26.—Government had a majority of 40 on Lord Derby's amendment on the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill. There was a scene at the end of the debate between Derby and Clarendon, *à propos* of a quotation by the former of the line 'A man may smile and smile and be a villain,' which he applied to the Bishop of Oxford, who had said that some allusion made by him which gave umbrage to Derby could not have been intended offensively, '*as he might have seen by his smile when making it.*' This quotation was cheered, rather in a deprecatory manner, when Derby rather insolently desired to know from whom the cheer came; when Clarendon got up, and with great warmth said it proceeded from him, which led to a regular 'scena' between them, in which, as is usually

the case, they were both in the wrong, and Derby particularly provoking.

To the Opera to-night for Mario's *rentrée* in the 'Puritani.' Bosio charming as Elvira; the best singer of her style I have heard since Persiani.

April 28.—The Canada Reserves Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords; Lord Derby rather *piano*, and withdrawing his opposition. A good deal of interesting discussion on transportation in the same House. The debate on the income tax continued, and was again adjourned until to-day, the only remarkable incident being a strong speech from Sir Francis Baring against the imposition of the income tax on Ireland. Baring being rather an authority on this subject, his speech perplexes the Irish members, who wish to support the Budget.

It seems likely, from what transpired yesterday in the examinations of witnesses in the case of the seizure of arms at Rotherhithe, that Kossuth will be proved to be closely connected with the affair.

The landed proprietors are furious with the legacy duty on land. I called on the Beauforts, and found them very angry and desponding as to the effect the measure would have on their property, and upon the aristocracy in general, and the law of primogeniture; and it does not at all occur to them that they are fortunate in having escaped so long.

April 30.—The Jew Bill, after a good debate, was rejected by the Lords by a majority of *49*.

May 3.—A majority of 71 on the income tax last night, which was larger than was expected, and will

give great moral strength to the Government. Gladstone was ill, and John Russell replied to Disraeli, who made a long and feeble speech. Torrents of rain and an orange fog.

May 4.—At the Granvilles to-night found Thackeray, who is just returned from the United States, where he has been delivering his lectures for the last six months, in which time he has cleared about 4,000*l.* He is come back full of enthusiasm for the Yankees, and with a longing to return, which is perhaps owing to his success there. He says, however, that he never heard an uncivil expression towards this country or himself, and that he met with constant kindness and hospitality. He says the feeling of the upper classes towards us is most friendly, but he admits that the lower orders abhor the name of England.[1]

May 8.—There was a large meeting yesterday at Stafford House in honour of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, at which an address to her was read by Shaftesbury and replied to by Mrs. Stowe. A good many of the ministers were present, which I think they had better have avoided. The weather is inconceivably cold for the time of year; snow fell here this morning, and accounts from the provinces and from Belgium and France state that continual storms of snow had occurred there during the last week.

May 11.—The Ellesmeres, who embarked for the United States on Monday, write that the cold is intense on board.[2] At Wortley a snowstorm began on

[1] The explanation of this fact lies in the circumstance that the lower orders in America consist mostly of Irish.—Ed.

[2] They made the voyage in H.M.S. 'Leander,' a sailing frigate. Contrary winds delayed her, and the passage occupied a month.—Ed.

Monday at five in the morning, which continued until ten at night, at which time there were eighteen inches deep of snow on the ground.

May 14.—Had news of the Ellesmeres by the steamer which towed them out: all well, but suffering much from the cold.

Holland writes to me from Naples that it is thought there that the King is touched in the head. He never moves from one room to another in his palace without kneeling and crossing himself. A fortnight ago, at one of his reviews, he made a scene which had an alarming effect on all around him. Some musical instruments of a band not having been dispensed with according to his orders, he commanded that they should be thrown to the ground, and that a cavalry regiment should ride over them. On the spot, and in the presence of the troops, he arrested three generals and four colonels, and degraded a whole regiment. He has since patched up this affair, and the officers have been set at liberty, but it has alarmed and disgusted both high and low in the army, in which lie his only strength and safety.

May 29.—Malmesbury's motion for a committee to inquire into the effect of the proposed legacy duty upon landed property was defeated by a majority of *13*. Derby made a very bitter speech.

There was an interesting conversation in both Houses on the crisis at which matters appear to have arrived in Constantinople on the subject of the Russian demands on the Porte respecting the Holy Places and the Greek Church. Clarendon declined to enter upon

details, but both he and John Russell declared that the policy of this country with regard to Turkey had undergone no change, and that France and England were entirely agreed upon their course of action.

June 1.—Dined with Cowper. Sat next to Walewski, who seemed uneasy respecting the Turco-Russian affair. Mentchikoff, he said, had left Constantinople, and he thought an arrangement would be extremely difficult, and that the Emperor Nicholas showed no signs of moderation, or of a conciliatory spirit.

Macaulay made a very fine speech to-night on the exclusion of the judges from the House of Commons.

Went to F. Leveson's marriage with Lady Margaret Compton.

June 2.—The Queen held her first drawing-room to-day; a long and tedious affair. The Duke of Genoa, who arrived here on Tuesday, was present. He is a tall, well-looking young man, with a *chevaleresque* demeanour. He has been received with great urbanity by the Queen.

Madame de Gontaut arrived in Lowndes Square on Tuesday on a visit to my mother. In her eightieth year, she preserves all her extraordinary vivacity, and is as entertaining and *graphic* as ever.

June 3.—Called on Lady Chesterfield, when Glengall came in, in high glee at the commotion caused by a violently Protestant speech made by John Russell on Moore's motion for an inquiry into the ecclesiastical revenues of the Irish Church; and in consequence of which Monsell, Sadleir, and Keogh have resigned their

offices. Lady Shelburne told me that Lord Lansdowne, whilst admitting the entire truth of all John Russell had said, regretted that he had spoken so strongly, as being very injudicious.

The news from Constantinople is unfavourable. Nothing can be more unreasonable than the demands of Russia.

Went to a concert at Court, which was less tiresome than usual. I was struck by the grace of the Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe, granddaughter of the Duchess of Kent. The Emperor Napoleon is said to have wanted to marry her, but such an alliance was objected to in high quarters.

June 6.—The Irish members have withdrawn their resignations, in consequence of a letter from Lord Aberdeen to Monsell, stating that John Russell had spoken only his individual opinions, and not those of the Government. Monsell replied in a very proper manner, and so far this matter is arranged, but it has caused and will cause great embarrassment to the Government and its Irish supporters.

Charles Wood brought on his Indian Bill on Friday in a speech which lasted five hours. The Times cuts it up.

There was a large meeting on Saturday at Willis's Rooms, Lord Lansdowne in the chair, to advocate the erection by subscription of Marochetti's statue of Richard I., in some more conspicuous part of the metropolis, in memory of the Exhibition of 1851. The proceedings were highly gratifying to Marochetti. The Queen has subscribed 200*l.*, and Prince Albert

100*l.* Marochetti offers to erect the statue without emolument, the expenses merely being paid.

The Russo-Turkish question continues to cause great anxiety. The chief guarantee against war consists in the perfect unanimity of the other great Powers.

June 22.—The Turco-Russian affair is assuming a very serious aspect. Walewski told me on Sunday that nothing could exceed the unreasonableness of the Emperor Nicholas, and he thought the Russians would soon occupy the principalities, which, however, the other Powers would not pronounce to be a *casus belli*, but that there would be a conference, which would eventually settle the whole affair. To-day, however, a note from Nesselrode to the Russian diplomatic agents abroad appears in all the newspapers, evidently inserted by authority, dated June 22, which sets forth and explains in the sense of the Russian Cabinet the causes of the present crisis, and the views upon which the Emperor is prepared to act. This despatch will not remove any difficulty in the way of preserving peace, but, on the contrary, as it repeats more vehemently and explicitly in a public document the pretensions of Russia to a supremacy over the Greek subjects of the Porte, it would seem that the Emperor is resolved upon submission to. this doctrine, or the alternative of going to war to enforce it. The Emperor of Russia has applied to the Cabinet of Austria to use its good offices at Constantinople to induce the Porte to submit to his ultimatum, but has received for reply that they cannot use their endeavours to engage the

Sultan to accept terms of which they do not approve, but that they are willing to instruct the Internuncio to endeavour to find some middle term or means of compromise between the last demand of Mentchikoff and the last concession of the Porte.

The King and Queen of Hanover are come to England. He is a tall, good-looking man, but blind, and wears a shade.

July 9.—Lady Anglesey expired yesterday morning at nine o'clock after a short illness, which at first gave no cause for alarm, as the attack was similar to those she had frequently suffered from, and from which she had always quickly rallied. It was only on Thursday (the 7th) that any alarm was felt. I dined at Robert Grosvenor's [1] on that day, and on arriving there found that Lady Robert had not come home from Uxbridge House. After dinner I went there, when Cameron [2] told me that her exhaustion was so great, she was only kept alive by stimulants, and that the case was hopeless. Yesterday morning, on sending to inquire, I learnt that all was over. Sydney came to see me soon after, and gave me all the details of her last moments, which were calm and peaceful. Lord Anglesey and all the family were present excepting Clarence, who had only just left the house, and Lady Sandwich, who is abroad. He told me nothing could be more admirable than their demeanour, but that they were in the deepest affliction, as I well know they must be, for never were children

[1] Lord Robert Grosvenor, afterwards Lord Ebury.
[2] The family physician.

more devoted to a mother, and never was there a mother more deserving of that devotion. For myself, I have lost a friend who for twenty-five years has shown me the most unremitting kindness, and such as, at my time of life, I cannot replace!

I heard this morning from Shelburne that poor Louise de Flahault died last night: it is for herself a happy release, having spent all the best years of her life in sickness, and her sufferings have been of late very great. I never saw her but once, but have had communication with her through her sisters, on whose account I have taken a lively interest in her for a long time past.

Melancholy events have succeeded one another with great rapidity. The Cowpers have been heavily afflicted by the death of their eldest girl.[1]

Hatchford, July 15, Friday.—I came here last Saturday to be out of the turmoil of London during these sad days.[2]

Alfred Potocki writes to me from Gallicia: 'Though much nearer the East than you, I have nothing to write to you about it. We all hope for peace, and believe me that Lord Aberdeen by his moderation contributes to it. La violence des journaux anglais ne peut être qu'à déplorer; cela ne fait

[1] Lady Emily Cowper, a very promising child of fourteen. She died of gastric fever.—Ed.

[2] The quiet of Hatchford, its situation close to one of those lovely breezy commons in which Surrey abounds, was always greatly enjoyed by my uncle; and, in addition to all this, he had the society of the person to whom in the whole world he was most devoted—his mother. The latter years of Lady Charlotte Greville's life were chiefly spent at Hatchford.—Ed.

qu'envenimer l'affaire, sans jamais donner les faits exactement comme ils sont, et leur continuel rabâchage est ennuyeux à périr. Je ne doute pas que Palmerston eût agi avec précipitation ; mais je ne vois pas en quoi il eût rendu service à l'Angleterre par là. Vous ne pouvez prospérer qu'avec la paix, et les cataclysmes que peut amener la guerre sont au delà de toutes les prévisions humaines. Quant à la Question même, ne vous moquez pas de moi, mais croyez que personne ne la comprend en Angleterre comme il la faut comprendre, et comme la Russie est obligée de l'envisager, de son point de vue, non seulement politiquement, mais surtout religieusement. L'Empereur ne pense pas à conquérir la Turquie, qui *ipso facto* lui appartiendra, mais comme chef de son Eglise, il a des devoirs, qui même, s'ils pouvaient faire l'objet d'une lettre, ne seraient pas compris par vous, car les Russes ont une autre manière d'envisager la Question que vous autres : ce qui, par exemple la Clef du Saint Sépulcre aux mains des Latins, vous paraît un enfantillage (comme le dit le Times), irrite le sentiment religieux des Russes au delà de tout, et ainsi de tant d'autres questions de ce genre. Aussi je n'ai pas vu un article de journal anglais, et ils sont tous dans le Galignani, qui juge la position de l'Empereur du point de vue religieux, et tous s'entêtent à ne voir que de l'ambition là où il y a nécessité religieuse, et où l'indifférence de sa part, non seulement serait blâmable, mais elle serait funeste pour les intérêts religieux en Russie même. Croyez-moi,

mon cher, voilà le point de vue dont il faut envisager la Question. Vous serez dans le vrai, car le sens commun vous ordonne de croire à des raisons extrêmement majeures, connaissant la modération de l'Empereur, puisque dans cette occasion il déclare ne pouvoir céder, et il nous faut éloigner tout à fait la Question politique, l'ambition, la conquête, la possession d'Istamboul,' &c. &c.

There may be much truth in all this, but after all Europe cannot submit to the unjust and unreasonable pretensions of Russia, because she is in an awkward position, *vis-à-vis* of her own subjects. That is her affair, not ours.

London, July 17.—Came to town yesterday; had a visit from Count Perponcher, *ci-devant* Secretary of the Prussian Legation. He is just married, and come with his wife on a visit to his sister-in-law, Lady Melbourne. He thinks the 'horizon politique plein de noirceur.'

Carlisle writes to his mother from Constantinople that Lord Stratford tells him he thinks war will be averted, and that Russia seems disposed to treat.

Holland House, July 24.—I was very ill on Monday last with a kind of spasmodic and nervous attack, which came on suddenly without any apparent cause, and left me very weak. I came here on Friday to recruit. The weather is really inconceivably bad for the season—continual torrents of rain and total absence of sunshine. We have had people at dinner every day. To-day the Duc d'Aumale, Mr. Pontois, formerly Ambassador at Constantinople under Louis

Philippe, and Mr. Cousin, who was Minister of Public Instruction and a very learned man—and Eugene Lamy the painter.

The Duc d'Aumale is a charming prince—very simple in his manner—clever, quick, and well-informed. He is a great bibliophile, and Panizzi, who dined with us, told me he has the finest library of any private individual in Europe. Amongst other curious manuscripts, he possesses the correspondence of the great Condé, with all the remarkable people of that time, bound up in twenty large volumes. Cousin is vulgar, and reminded me of an actor at a Boulevard theatre, but with a very striking and intelligent countenance. Both he and the Duc d'Aumale deprecated a war for France. If it were successful, they said, the most iron despotism would be firmly established; if the contrary, France would become 'un Département.'

Holland House, August 20.—I came here yesterday. On Monday, 15th, I went to Hatchford to meet my sister on her return from America, which she accomplished in the steamer 'Europa,' in ten days and on a smooth sea. Ellesmere, Alice, and Algy are to return in the 'Leander.' Last week I saw at the Opera the Grand Duchess Olga, married to the Crown Prince of Wurtemburg. She is much faded, but has the remains of great beauty. On the 9th I gave a concert to the Duchess of Cambridge, at which Grisi, Mario, Lucchesi, Bosio, and Ciabatta sang. It went off very well, and every one sang his best.

Parliament is prorogued to-day, after an arduous

session, but in which a good deal has been done. There was some discussion on the Turco-Russian affair, in which John Russell did not distinguish himself, his manner tame, and his speech wanting in dignity and effect. Palmerston, on the contrary, was very brilliant, pulverised Cobden, and carried the House with him. People begin to prophesy that he will be Prime Minister before the next session is over.

The great Bridgwater will case was decided yesterday in favour of the young Lord Alford—the House of Lords having reversed the decision of Lord Cranworth, in opposition to the opinion of the majority of the judges. Lords Lyndhurst, Truro, and St. Leonards were in favour of reversing, and Cranworth, as before, against it. Lord Lyndhurst delivered his judgment in a wonderfully clear and lucid manner. This decision appears to give universal satisfaction, and the manner in which the Cust Egertons take their defeat is very creditable to them.

August 22.—Took leave of the Hollands this morning; dined with the Augustus Cravens. In the evening Wâlewski read to us an Act of the 'Misanthrope,' and very well.

Hatchford, September 1.—Came here on the 23rd. Deplorable weather—such fogs that the navigation of the Thames has been obstructed. Ellesmere and Co. arrived here on Tuesday, having made a very quick passage, the whole time of which he was in bed with gout!

London, September 3.—This evening at the Cravens' I met the Duke and Duchess de Terceira, who are on

their way from Lisbon to Brussels, to compliment King Leopold on the marriage of the Duke de Brabant. They are a very handsome couple. Queen Christina[1] has come over here with the plea of seeing her aunt Marie Amélie, but the latter having no desire for the meeting has purposely absented herself, to avoid it—which, as her Majesty comes straight from doing homage to the Emperor Napoleon, with the hope that young Napoleon[2] would marry one of her daughters, is not much to be wondered at.

The Walewskis were at Mrs. Craven's, being just returned from Dieppe, where they went to meet the Emperor and Empress. Walewski was *très soucieux*, and she told me the Russian question was as far off as ever from a settlement.

John Russell had been sent for and came from Scotland, but as the Emperor of Russia's reply as to whether he would accept the note of the allies as modified by the Sultan, cannot reach London till the 10th, he is gone back again.

Guy's Clyffe, September 5.—Came here yesterday. Raglan and his daughters dined here. Went to the Warwick races. I had not been at a great race for some years, and it really appeared to me like hell let loose. I never saw such a scene as that in front of

[1] Queen Christina, a personage who at one time enjoyed an unenviable notoriety, was the mother of the ex-Queen Isabella of Spain and the Duchesse de Montpensier. A daughter of the latter married the present King of Spain, Alfonso, and died in 1879. The present Queen is an Austrian princess.—ED.

[2] 'Plonplon,' Jérôme's son. He eventually married the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia.—ED.

the grand stand—such shouting, swearing, jostling, and such horrible expression of countenances.

September 7.—Called upon my old tutor Bondier at the vicarage, whom I had not seen for thirty years, and found but little changed. The town is just as it was, but Leamington from a village is converted into a city with 16,000 inhabitants, and two railways running through it.

Keele, September 9.—Came here yesterday—found Baring Wall, Edward Cheney, and Walter Sneyd. The weather damp and gloomy. Poor Wall in great anxiety for the sight of his only remaining eye.

Worsley, September 13.—Came here to-day expecting to find my sister, but only Algy (Egerton) and the girls are here. There is something particularly bright and gay in this place when the sun shines, and the atmosphere is as clear as it was this evening.

There is a despatch from Clarendon to Sir G. H. Seymour, dated July 16, 1853, published in all the papers, so severely commenting upon the circular of Nesselrode to the Russian diplomatists abroad, and which so broadly declares the invasion of the principalities to be an infraction of the treaties constituting the international law of Europe, that I think we cut rather a foolish figure in patiently submitting to this aggression. The whole affair appears to me to have been conducted with a considerable degree of timidity in the first instance, and subsequently with *clumsiness.*

September 14.—The anniversary of the Duke's death, which we heard here a year ago! how great was our consternation! Lord de Grey has published

a small volume, entitled 'Characteristics of the Duke of Wellington apart from his Military Talents,' which is nicely done, and founded mostly on the Duke's despatches and correspondence.

September 15.—The Emperor Nicholas declines accepting the Vienna Note as modified by the Porte, but says he will evacuate the principalities when they agree to it as originally proposed to them by his allies.

London, September 30.—The Turco-Russian affair daily grows more serious. The few people who are here are perpetually asking one if one believes in peace or war. The Cabinet is about to meet, and Palmerston has, *en attendant*, been haranguing at Glasgow and Perth, on the occasion of the presentation to him of the freedom of those cities, and making fine eulogiums upon Clarendon and his management of foreign affairs. Gladstone, on the same occasion, made a very good speech in the same sense.

The Emperor of Russia is gone to meet the Emperor of Austria at Olmütz. It seems every day more unlikely that Austria will take any part in *coercing* Russia to withdraw her pretensions, or to retire from the principalities.

The Emperor and Empress have been progressing through the north of France. The language of the official harangues is perfectly disgusting, from its fulsome adulation. The Grand Duchess Marie (Leuchtenberg) is here, and visiting at various country houses. Every one is charmed with her grace and *esprit*, and she is equally so with England.

Bowood, October 16.—Cabinets have been sitting during this last week, and it is supposed that everything is to be done to stave off the war by negotiation and a fresh note, and in the meantime to be prepared for the worst. The (so-called) Conservative press is rabid for war, and is constantly attacking Lord Aberdeen for his *supposed* peaceable inclination *à tout prix*, in which the Examiner joins. Reports are rife of the probable retirement of Lord Aberdeen, for which I hope there is no foundation. Gladstone has been starring it on the occasion of the inauguration of the Peel statue, and made a somewhat extravagant eulogium on the late minister.

Poor Robbins[1] sailed for Madeira on the 11th, somewhat improved in health, but I fear I may never see him again; but he is full of hope and of gratitude, and is a specimen of the aristocracy of nature—not fit for a servant, or to buffet with the hardships of that life.

Baring Wall died on the 14th at Norman Court. I saw him for the last time on September 29, on my return from Hatchford. He had accompanied me as far as Crewe, on his way to Bangor, which he said he wished to see *before he grew blind.* He had been suffering from his eyes, and, at my suggestion, determined to consult one of two oculists (whose addresses I procured for him) on his return to town. On my return from Worsley I found him confined to his room by violent pains in his head and loss of appetite, attended

[1] His servant, to whom my uncle had been most kind. He died of consumption.—Ed.

with great debility, but reassured as to his loss of sight. As long as I was in town I helped him to write his notes and letters, and on my second return from Hatchford, on September 27, I found he had been very seriously ill, with a large tumour in his head, but that he was so much better as to be advised to go to Norman Court the following day. He reached it without any bad effect from the journey, and was rather better, but on Friday week a change for the worse occurred. Tom Baring was sent for, and two physicians from London. An operation was performed on his head, under which he sank. He is a great social loss. He was a clever and shrewd man, with a great deal of information, but he had either by nature or assumption a foolish manner, which prevented justice being done to his ability. Somebody said of him (I believe it was Shelburne), 'Wall is a wise man in a foolish envelope,' and it was true. He was very kind to me, and I am sorry he is gone!

I have been at Panshanger for a day or two, and found them[1] in a very satisfactory state of mind.

I came here (Bowood) yesterday, and found myself in the same carriage with Lord Rutherford. I always regret his affectation, which prevents his being perfectly agreeable. His conversation, however, is very pleasant and instructive. He made me laugh by telling me the origin of some of the public-house signs—'The Bag and Nails,' 'The Bacchanals;' 'The Goat and Compasses,' taken from a Puritanical sign, 'God encompasseth us.'

[1] Lord and Lady Cowper, the bereaved parents.

Tuesday, October 18.—I think this is a charming and cheerful place. The house very pretty and comfortable, and full of pictures of agreeable subjects, and books of all sorts. The Granvilles and Sir David Dundas came yesterday. The latter is even more affected than Rutherford, and his society consequently fatiguing, though he is a very clever man, and generally considered very agreeable.

Poor Wall has made Tom Baring his heir.

London, October 22.—Came to town yesterday, and went to the opening of Wigan's Theatre, and saw a new and very clever actor—by name Robson. Dined to-day with Granvilles, and met Prince and Princess Simon Woronzow (Michel Woronzow's son) and the Pembroke family, Brunnows, &c. Princess W. was a Mdlle. Staloupine, and a *ci-devant* beauty, of which no trace remains.

November 13.—I have been at Panshanger and Frognal. Dined yesterday with Abercorns. Landseer was there, and told us that the publisher of the engraving of his picture of 'The Hawking Party' had cleared 22,000*l.*, whilst he only got 200*l.* for the copyright!

November 18.—Poor Beaufort died yesterday at Badminton, after one may almost say a prolonged agony of years. He had of late suffered tortures from neuralgic pains all over his body, which, on the breaking of a chalkstone on his fingers, appeared to yield, and it was hoped he might rally and regain his strength as before; but he was suddenly attacked by gout in the stomach and brain on Tuesday, and on

Thursday morning he expired. He was amiable, courteous, and hospitable to the greatest degree, and few men were ever more universally popular than he was, from an irresistible charm of manner towards persons of all sorts and grades. He will be greatly missed by his family and society, for which he has done so much.

Princess Sarah Esterhazy[1] died also of rapid consumption at Torquay on Thursday last.

November 27.—Cabinets are constantly sitting, and the Times is endeavouring to get up the steam for the Reform Bill, but *it will not do.* Nobody cares for, or thinks about it. Carlisle gets Beaufort's Garter, which every one approves.

December.—I met the Duke of Newcastle at dinner the other day. He told me that, on an average, he worked twelve hours a day. Landseer was there—very amusing, but not natural.

Tottenham Park, December 11.—I have been at Hatchford, to my mother, and came here yesterday. No one here but Lady Cardigan. The cold is very intense, and I never remember a more dark and dismal autumn.

The Eastern question has now advanced into another phase. The four Powers, England, France, Austria, and Prussia, have signed a protocol, the basis of which is, that a conjoint attempt shall be made to put an end to hostilities, on conditions honourable to both parties, and to maintain the territorial integrity of the Ottoman dominions. It appears

[1] Daughter of Lord and Lady Jersey. She was very beautiful.—Ed.

to me that though the latter part of this protocol is very important, and must prevent the four Powers from separating into two camps, it does not commit Austria and Prussia to any attempt to coerce Russia to accept the terms proposed, so that the war and the negotiations may go on for an indefinite period.

Savernake, December 16.—I came here on Monday, and found Abercorns, Bessboroughs, Granvilles, Dunkellin, Somerton, and Henry Lennox. This morning, on coming down to breakfast, I was greeted by, 'Well, what do you say to the news? Guess,' &c., and found the party in great excitement at Granville having announced that Palmerston had resigned, in consequence of a disagreement with his colleagues upon the Reform Bill. Presently, afterwards, the Times arrived, with two very long, violent, and injudicious articles, one of which, far from complimentary to Palmerston, had very much the appearance of emanating from some member of the Cabinet, and pointing out John Russell as the most fit and most probable successor to Palmerston at the Home Department. We were all in great excitement, and under some alarm lest this measure, which Palmerston cannot swallow, should also be too much for the digestion of Lord Lansdowne, whose secession from the Cabinet at this moment would be a very heavy blow.

Panshanger, December 21.—I came here on Monday; found the Bessboroughs and Lord de Grey. It seems that Palmerston has been one of the committee of five members of the Cabinet appointed to

draw up the Reform Bill; the others being John Russell, Graham, Granville, and Newcastle. Lady Palmerston writes to Cowper that Palmerston had differed with the others on various parts of the Bill; that he had made certain concessions of opinion, but that there were things to which he could not agree; that he had informed Lord Aberdeen of this, who promised to endeavour to bring over John Russell and Graham to Palmerston's views; but that Lord A. had found them inexorable, and as he informed P. he was of their way of thinking, Palmerston had no course left but to tender his resignation. Every one knows that Lord Lansdowne objects to the Reform Bill, and it was reported that he also had seceded from the Government, but up to the present moment nothing is decided. John Russell went to Bowood on Tuesday to try and talk him over, and it is evident that the Palmerston party (if such it can be called) will consider him to be very ill-used, if concessions should now be made to Lord L. to induce him to remain, which J. R. did not think fit to offer to Palmerston.

It appears to me that much haste was shown in accepting Palmerston's resignation, and, above all, in making it *public*; for not only did Lord Aberdeen not call a Cabinet previously to accepting Palmerston's resignation, and which was due to the other members of it, but most of them only learnt the fact from the Times of *Friday*, when on their way to attend the Cabinet summoned afterwards, Lord Aberdeen having been to Osborne to announce it to the Queen

on the previous *Wednesday*. I have reason to believe that some of the Cabinet are annoyed at this haste, which may give rise to the suspicion that certain persons were not sorry of the opportunity of getting rid of Palmerston, who, it is averred, has constantly opposed in Cabinet all the chief measures which have been laid before Parliament.

People are much astonished that this split should have taken place on reform, and not on foreign policy; and we are told that Palmerston, on leaving office, wrote a very handsome letter to Clarendon. We must, however, wait for the meeting of Parliament, to see the attitude which Palmerston will assume on the Eastern question; and I fully expect that he will take up, out of office, a much more *vigorous* line than has been hitherto pursued by the Cabinet. Anyhow, it is a very awkward affair, and I fully expect that this Reform Bill, which no one wants, and which we owe entirely to an indiscreet announcement of John Russell on Locke King's motion, which committed both himself and his party quite unnecessarily, will ultimately break up the Government.

The Home Office has been offered to Sir George Grey.

It is strongly reported that a negotiation is on foot to induce Palmerston to resume office. Should this fail, it is believed that Graham will be removed to the Home Office, and be succeeded at the Admiralty by Lord Panmure or Canning.

Hatchford, December 24.—I came here to-day. Charles brought the news from London that Palmer-

ston has withdrawn his resignation. I had seen in the morning a letter from Lord Lansdowne, who deplored what had occurred, and expressed the opinion that much unnecessary haste had been evinced on all sides, for it had been particularly agreed upon and understood that no decision with regard to the Reform Bill should be come to until after Christmas. This made me hope that at all events Lord L. would not resign, at any rate at present, and that his desire was that this affair should be patched up. Newcastle was employed to settle this business, and I believe he did not find much difficulty in inducing Palmerston to return. Nor has any unworthy concession been made on either side, but it is simply understood that the Reform Bill shall be reconsidered.

The English and French fleets have at length received orders to enter the Black Sea, and to protect the Turks from any further attack of the Russians. It is expected, on this being known at St. Petersburg, that the Emperor will declare war against England and France.

December 26.—The Times and Morning Chronicle announce Palmerston's return to office in very proper terms. The Morning Post makes a great flourish, and gives the world to understand that the Cabinet had been on their knees to him, and had made every sort of concession.

December 27.—Mr. and Mrs. Nasmyth came to-day. He is the inventor of the celebrated Nasmyth hammer, and is a man full of knowledge of all sorts

and kinds, and a beautiful draughtsman, with a pleasant and most simple manner of communicating his knowledge.

December 28.—Everything looks more warlike. The Porte accepts the note of the four Powers, but on condition that none of the old treaties be renewed. Deep snow and severe cold. This has been a dark, dismal, and more than usually cold winter up to the present time.

December 31.—Harry Grevillc, who is in command of the 'Trafalgar,' at Constantinople, writes that Lord Stratford, whilst pretending to advocate peace, is believed to be warlike at heart. Harry deprecates the entry of the fleet into the Black Sea, owing to the extreme danger of the coast at this season.

Hatchford, January 1, 1854.—Intensely cold and deep snow. George Loch, who came here yesterday, tells me the Manchester people are in a good frame of mind as to war. They dislike it, but they feel that negotiation has gone far enough, and that the time is come to '*speak out.*'

London, January 6.—I came here yesterday to officiate at the Chapel Royal on the Epiphany, when a very absurd ceremony takes place—the presentation of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, in imitation of the wise men of the East. The Queen is supposed to make the offering, but is represented by two gentlemen ushers, who are seated (full dressed) in the royal pew, and, at the conclusion of the Nicene Creed, descénd to the body of the chapel, and, preceded by the verger, and bearing a velvet box, in which are the bags con-

taining the offerings, approach the altar and present them to the dean, bow, and retire. There was hardly any one in the chapel, and the service was done in a very slovenly manner. It is altogether a very foolish custom—a mere *rag* of *Popery*.

The streets were so encumbered with snow that the cabs had mostly two horses.

January 12.—Dined yesterday with Lady Essex, Quin, the other Lady Essex, and Dick Charteris. Quin very amusing when giving the account of Landseer's expedition from St. John's Wood to Belgrave Square on the night of the great snowstorm in a *hack cab*, *tandem*, with a man on the box with a spade to dig the way. Afterwards to the Flahaults. F. told me the impression at Paris was that the Emperor Nicholas would not care for the entrance of the allied fleets into the Black Sea, and that he would treat on the basis of the note of the four Powers.

January 18.—For the last week the newspapers have been indulging in the most violent attacks on Prince Albert; and, wonderful to relate, the public, with its usual gullibility, believes the incredibly absurd accusations. There was even a report that *he was sent to the Tower!* and it is a fact that a large crowd was assembled on the road from Windsor and at the station and at the gate of the Tower to see him pass. To-day, at last, the Times takes up the cudgels in his defence, and writes a capital article, half serious, half bantering, and the reaction is sure to begin forthwith.

Harry Greville writes that the fleets entered the

Black Sea under protest of the admirals of both nations, on plea of the extreme danger of the navigation.

The Duchess of Orleans has published in the English newspapers a letter to the Duc de Nemours, disclaiming all participation in the 'fusion,' on the ground of 'les droits sacrés de son fils.' The Times has a very well-written comment on this letter, and convicts her of bad logic, and respectfully advises her to 'wean the minds of her sons from the vain chimera of a succession to a throne from which they are alike excluded by the dogmas of legitimacy and the principles of popular election.'

Dined with Lady Essex. She told me of a curious thing that happened to Lady Beecher (Miss O'Neill). Some time after her marriage she was at a ball, when a lady accosted her and said she was very desirous of making her acquaintance, in order to express her gratitude to her for the whole happiness of her life. Lady Beecher, somewhat astonished, asked her what she meant; when the lady told her that her husband had been a confirmed gambler, but that Miss O'Neill's performance of Mrs. Beverley had made so extraordinary and lasting an impression upon him that, on returning from the theatre, he registered an oath never to play or bet again, which he had religiously observed; and she considered that her happiness was entirely owing to her admirable performance.

January 22.—The Duc de Nemours positively denies having received any such letter as that supposed to be written by the Duchesse d'Orleans, and

Dumont (at Paris) says its construction and bad French prove it to be a forgery.

Charles has written a letter in the Times upon the subject of Prince Albert's right to sit at the Privy Council, in answer to one denying such right, and which was signed 'A Member of the *Conservative* Club.' In Charles's letter he spoke of the writer of the other as a 'Carltonian,' which called forth a furious epistle from the secretary of the Carlton, asking upon what authority he had attributed this letter to a member of the Carlton Club. Charles replied that he had confounded the Conservative with the Carlton Club, for which he owed and offered an apology. The 'Herald' and 'Standard' are furious with Charles, and have daily letters full of abuse of him, merely because he has defended Prince Albert. Such is the *loyalty* of the *party*!

January 25.—Yesterday an answer came from the Emperor of Russia to the announcement of the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea, in the form of a question as to whether this measure was to protect the Turks, or merely taken in virtue of an armed neutrality. A Cabinet was called, and the Emperor was referred to the instructions given to the admirals in command, which have already been made public. The tone of this communication is more *meek* than had been expected, and it gives time for the reception of the note of the four Powers.

I am inclined to think that the Emperor will accept the note, and perhaps send a plenipotentiary to the conference, but without the intention of agree-

ing to anything that is proposed, and only with the object of gaining time. There is no sort of doubt but that the war is very unpopular in France; everything I hear from thence convinces me of this.

January 31.—I went with the Queen to-day to the opening of Parliament. The day was fine, and the crowd immense. It was expected that, owing to the calumnies and absurd tales got up by the Radical and Conservative press, her Majesty and the Prince might be ill received; but, excepting in one or two places where some hissing was heard, the mob was more than usually good-humoured. The speech is a good one. Lord Carnarvon moved [the address] in the Lords, Lord Castlerosse and Mr. Thomson Hankey in the Commons.

February 1.—The debate in the Lords last night was very animated and favourable to Government. Young Lord Carnarvon made a successful *début.* Clanricarde attacked the Government violently on its Eastern policy in a clever speech, and was answered by Clarendon, who with one or two exceptions made a good defence. Derby then fired off his great guns—abused the Eastern policy—accused the Government of having brought on the present complication, and then entered into the Palmerston affair. Aberdeen answered him very well, but declined entering into any details on the Palmerston rupture, and denied all connection with the articles in the Times which had announced it so prematurely. He then entered into a long and successful defence of Prince Albert, retorting upon Derby his accusation of influence over and

connection with the Press, and referred to the scandalous articles which had appeared in the Conservative press against Prince Albert. Derby declared that these calumnies had originated in the Radical and not the Conservative press, and that there existed no connection between his party and the Herald. This assertion was too much for Harrowby, who said that if they did not originate with the Conservative press, they had been sanctioned by it; and he regretted that the influence of the noble Lords on the right had not been exerted to put a stop to them. Malmesbury was in a fury, and declared Harrowby's speech to be offensive to his feelings, and *that, as they had no connection with the press*, it was impossible they could prevent the insertion of such articles—rather an imprudent assertion. In the Commons, John Russell, in the course of an elaborate defence of Prince Albert, stated (what I had heard, but did not then believe) that the Duke of Wellington wished the Prince to be Commander-in-Chief, and that his Royal Highness had declined, stating his reasons in so clear and lucid a manner, and with so much judgment and good sense, as to bring the Duke round to his opinion.

Mahon told me to-day that this had occurred in 1850, and he remembered hearing that the principal reason the Duke gave the Prince for wishing that he should take the command of the army was that it would be the only effectual way of preventing the House of Commons, which was gradually possessing itself of all the powers of the State, from also taking possession of the army.

February 2.—Clanwilliam told me he had been with Brunnow yesterday, and that he was all ready for a start, and believed he should repair to Darmstadt to-morrow.

February 3.—Azeglio tells me he has no doubt '*que le terrain a été tâté*,' respecting a visit to the Queen by the Emperor and Empress—that it had been propounded to the Queen, and that the ministers wished it.

It is said that the Brabants are to go to Paris, and be lodged in the *Palais Royal*, which really appears to be *un excès d'humiliation*!

February 8.—Everything now looks as warlike as possible. Orloff's mission to Vienna has failed (as it was sure to do), and no other issue than war to this interminable question seems possible.

Brunnow went off yesterday, and Kisseleff left Paris the day before yesterday for Brussels. The Turkish blue-books have made a favourable impression as regards the conduct of the Government throughout this transaction. John Russell's announcement of his Reform Bill for the 13th is very unpopular. Some people think him wrong to produce it at this moment; others, and the majority, that at any rate it should be postponed until the question of peace or war be definitively decided.

February 14.—There was no enthusiasm, excitement, or even curiosity last night, when John Russell brought on his Reform Bill. It fell entirely flat, and pleases nobody excepting the immediate worshippers of 'l'Athlète de la Réforme.' It is very sweeping in

its provisions, and is admitted on all hands to be a very dangerous experiment. At present, the general impression is that it will not pass the House of Commons. The fact is that the preparations for war absorb entirely the interest of the public. They are being carried on with vigour, and the appointment of Lord Raglan to the chief command of the army meets with universal approval. Sir Charles Napier is to command the Baltic fleet.

February 15.—Clanricarde brought on his discussion on Eastern affairs last night. The old ground was gone over again and again. Clanricarde speaks with apparent effort to himself; and though the matter is good, and his speeches *read* well, they don't make much effect in the House. Lord Glenelg's was the best speech on the Government side. That of Grey showed great ability; but as he objected to *any* interference on our part, his eloquence was too late to be useful.

The Emperor Napoleon has written an autograph letter to the Emperor Nicholas, which was published in the Times to-day. It is not well written, and is likely, from certain admissions which it makes, and the somewhat cool mention of Queen Victoria's name, rather to complicate than to mend matters. Indeed, if the Emperor of Russia should, by any chance, close with the proposals contained in this letter, and which, as far as I know, have not been made in concert with our Government, we shall find ourselves rather in a false position.

February 26.—The events of the last week have

been the unfavourable reply of the Emperor of Russia to Louis Napoleon's autograph letter, and the strong assurances given by Austria and Prussia of their adherence to the policy of the Western Powers, and in consequence of which it was said last night that the Emperor Nicholas had struck off the names of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia from the list of his army. Lord Beaumont brought on, in a long and rambling speech, a discussion on Eastern affairs on Friday—which gave Clarendon the opportunity of making a very brilliant and telling speech, an immense improvement on his former one on the same subject.

On Wednesday and Friday the first detachment of troops embarked at Southampton for the East. The first division left the Wellington barracks at four in the morning of Wednesday, and were greeted on their appearance in the yard and on the whole line of march to the terminus by immense crowds of people with the most enthusiastic cheers. The ensign who carried the colours was nearly smothered by the caresses of the mob. The same reception awaited them at Southampton, and so it has been in every part of the country from which troops have been sent.

We shall see whether this enthusiasm will last when the payment of increased taxes is demanded. The feeling is, however, creditable to the country, which has remained perfectly tranquil as long as negotiations for peace could be honourably carried on; and now that all hope is over that this object can be

honourably attained by those means, it shows itself ready to make all necessary sacrifices to carry on the war with vigour.

Lord Raglan was to go to Paris last night to see the Emperor, and to concert with him and the generals in command the plan of future operations.

A dinner was given yesterday to the Duke of Cambridge by White's Club on his appointment to the command of a division. He is to start in ten days, and to pass some time at Paris, with the approbation of the Queen, who has spoken to him in high terms of the conduct of the Emperor throughout the whole of the Eastern affair.

Sir Edward Dering has given notice of a motion to postpone the discussion of the Reform Bill fixed for March 14. The Government is embarrassed, as it is probable that if they resist they will be beaten. It was reported last night they had resolved to postpone it for a fortnight.

The Duke of Portland [1] appears to be declining in health.

Dined yesterday with Ebrington; sat next to Walewski, who told me that on the return of Orloff with the answer to the Russian propositions sent to Vienna, the Emperor was in a tremendous rage, and immediately issued four orders: first, for a levy of nine men in every 1,000 souls; secondly, that Seymour's passports should be given to him; thirdly, that the names of the Emperor of Austria and the

[1] Mr. Greville's uncle, being his mother's—Lady Charlotte Greville's—brother.—Ed.

King of Prussia should be erased from the army list; and fourthly, that no Russian should wear any Austrian or Prussian order. The first two orders were acted upon at once; and although Castelblazé had not received his instructions to demand his passports, and although they had not been sent to him—on learning that Hamilton Seymour had got his, he immediately applied for them. Walewski told me that as soon as the Emperor (of the French) heard that the Duke of Cambridge was appointed to the command of a division, he desired Walewski to call upon his Royal Highness, and invite him to 'descendre aux Tuileries.'

Lady Elizabeth Lascelles[1] expired on Sunday, leaving six little children.

George Paget[2] was married last evening to Miss Agnes Paget.

March 5.—Lord Raglan, who went over to Paris to see the Emperor, and to consult with the military authorities upon future operations, returned on Wednesday. He and the Emperor were mutually pleased with each other, and Lord Raglan told the Queen he thought 'the Emperor was the best Frenchman he had ever met'! His Imperial Majesty's speech on opening the legislative session is much admired.

[1] Lady E. Lascelles was the eldest daughter of the Marquis of Clanricarde, and was sister of Lady Cork, Lady M. Beaumont, and Lady Harriet Wentworth. She married Lord Lascelles, eldest son of the Earl of Harewood.—Ed.

[2] Lord George Paget, one of the heroes of Balaclava.—Ed.

The ultimatum sent to Russia by the Western Powers got into the Times before it was intended to be made public, much to the annoyance of several members of the Cabinet, and particularly of Lord Aberdeen, who said, 'As the Times is supposed to be my paper, I shall be particularly suspected.'

The ultimatum was only agreed upon on Sunday last at a Cabinet held at Argyll House; and although there was nothing *written*, the decision appeared in the Times on *Monday* or *Tuesday*, before it was officially communicated to Austria and Prussia, whose co-operation was so much desired. This is the *second* great indiscretion committed by some member or members of the Cabinet. John Russell, after (I suspect) a prodigious wrangle in the Cabinet, and on high pressure from his own party, announced on Friday that the second reading of the Reform Bill was to be postponed until April 27, *when he intended to bring it on.* Most people think he would have done more wisely to give it up entirely for this session at least, and that by the course he has taken he has only prepared fresh difficulty for himself, whenever the day now fixed for the second reading shall come, and when it is more than probable we shall be in a state of war, and quite incapable of bestowing calm attention upon so momentous a subject; to say nothing of the time of year, and the impossibility of getting the Bill through the House of Lords.

March 9.—The answer of the Emperor Nicholas to the Emperor Napoleon's letter is published in the

newspapers. It is courteous in tone, but all the facts on which its arguments are founded are unfortunately false.

There has appeared an admirable State paper by Drouyn de l'Huys, in the form of a circular to the French diplomatic agents, containing a *résumé* of the present state of affairs, and showing that war is now the last resource; and particularly demolishing the pretence, on the part of Russia, that she has been driven to this war for the protection of the Christian faith. It is very well done.

The Duchess of Sutherland came to the Granvilles last night from the Palace, where she had met Hamilton Seymour just returned from St. Petersburg *viâ* Berlin. He brings very unfavourable accounts as to the disposition of the King of Prussia to join the Western Powers, and it is clear we cannot count upon that alliance.

Madame de Lieven writes from Brussels that her conviction is that Austria may be with us '*sur la surface, mais au fond non—et quant à la Prusse—pas du tout.*' She believes the Emperor Nicholas to be the most *peaceable* man in his dominions, and that he has been 'très mal servi' here and at Paris.

A great dinner was given to Sir Charles Napier by the Reform Club, Palmerston in the chair. He (Lord P.) made several speeches—a fine but rather fulsome eulogy on the Emperor Napoleon, and a waggish one on giving Napier's health.

Opinion is much divided as to the propriety of the appointment of Sir Charles to command the Baltic

fleet. His merit is supposed to be that he is *dashing*, and he is also *lucky*. But he has great defects.

Some of the ships are to sail immediately, in consequence, I suppose, of Russia's *pressure* upon Sweden and Denmark to induce them to change their determination of remaining neutral. The Queen, who is to review the fleet on Saturday, has ordered that no change in the arrangements for the service of the fleet should be made on her account, and the ships ready for sea will probably sail to-morrow.

It seems odd that, except in the streets, Seymour has not seen the Emperor Nicholas since *May*.

Lord Londonderry died last Monday of bronchitis. It is not ten days since he called upon Lord Anglesey to offer to take his waiting for this month in consequence of the illness of the latter; and such is the uncertainty of life that Lord Anglesey attended the levée yesterday, and poor Lord Londonderry was a corpse!

The Bishop of Salisbury (Denison) died also on Monday, and is a great loss to the Church and to his family.

March 15.—Walewski told me last night that the King of Prussia has sent over here a Count Graben (who, by the way, speaks nothing but German), bearing an autograph letter to the Queen, to invite her to resume negotiations on the *Russian* basis, and offering his mediation. He has sent the same to Paris by Prince Hohenzollern, and one to Vienna. He has just now his Russian *phase* upon him. Walewski said that as he changed about once a fortnight it was to

be hoped his next *accès* would be anti-Russian. From something Walewski said I suspect Bunsen is recalled.

The Queen reviewed the fleet on Saturday, having previously received on board the yacht all the captains. The day was fine, and the sight very grand, though mournful. The Ellesmeres with some of their family were on board the 'Black Eagle,' when a messenger arrived offering him the Garter.[1] He replied in a pencil note, that, as he was about to bring a charge against the Government for their conduct to Sir James Brooke, he did not consider himself justified in accepting. Lord Aberdeen replied that he desired nothing but that justice should be done to Sir James, against whom he had no personal enmity, and that unless 'Lord E. meant to impeach them,' this could be no impediment; so he accepted.

March 24.—Laid up with a feverish cold. Lady Abercorn, who kindly came to see me, told that Prince Albert had told Abercorn that the Emperor Napoleon had expressed the wish to our Government that the troops which are to pass through France, to embark for the East, should march through the streets of Paris in full uniform.

Hatchford, March 30.—I came here on the 24th. On Tuesday we heard of the death of the Duke of Portland, which took place the day before. He had been declining for the last month or six weeks, without any particular illness, and ten days ago it became

[1] As a matter of fact the message reached my father in the train on his way to Portsmouth the day before.—Ed.

evident that a rally was out of the question. The funeral, contrary to expectation, is to take place at Bolsover, and not at Marylebone, and by the Duke's express injunction is not to cost more than 100*l.*—a most wise one it is.

War was declared yesterday in Council, and a royal message was sent to Parliament on Tuesday announcing the rupture. The reasons assigned for this step are well put in the 'Gazette,' and the article contains a succinct account of the whole business. It seems that the Russians have crossed the Danube, which should have a decisive effect on the policy of Austria; but without Prussia she durst not act, and no dependence can be placed on the King.

The Duke of Parma has been assassinated. The Duchess, his wife, has assumed the regency for her son Prince Robert, who is nine years old, and she has dismissed Baron Ward and the ministry. The Duke was very worthless, and was cruel as well as profligate; and he was particularly obnoxious to the Liberal party, whose cause he had more than once both espoused and betrayed.

Madame de Gontaut writes that the Duchess of Parma had the worst opinion of Ward, who, from being stud-groom to her father-in-law, rose to the post of Prime Minister; and on one occasion she said to him, 'Baron Ward, je vous préviens que j'ai fait trois Testaments—que j'en ai mis un dans les mains du Pape, un autre dans celles de mon frère, et le troisième j'ai confié à l'Empereur d'Autriche, dans lequel j'ai spécifié que si je venois à mourir de la colique, ou

avec aucuns symptômes de poison, on vous arrêteroit sur le champ.'

April 4.—The Duke of Portland was buried on Monday at Bolsover; no one was present but Henry Bentinck, the Denisons, and Lucy Howard[1] and her two young sons. Algy, who is one of the executors, and gets 1,000*l.*, was not invited. There was a large concourse of tenants and poor people, who have lost a just and generous benefactor.

London, April 6.—Came to town yesterday. We have delicious weather, bright sun and blue sky, and warm.

The Emperor of Russia has sent the Duke George of Mecklenburg to the King of Prussia with some fresh propositions, which have been forwarded to us and to Paris; but they will not do, and are considered merely as intended to cajole the King of Prussia, and to detach him, and if possible Austria, from the Western Powers.

Paris, April 8.—Left London yesterday with the Sydneys at quarter to two; crossed to Boulogne at quarter to five, where we slept; started at half-past ten, and reached Paris at 5.30. The day was marvellous, too hot for pleasant travelling. Dined with Cowley. She is ill; nobody but Dick Dundas, who is come over to concert measures with the Minister of Marine. I am delightfully lodged in Holland's entresol in the Place de la Madeleine, which he has lent me. Paris looks gay and beautiful, and the weather is so hot that people are sitting on the

[1] Lady Howard de Walden, the Duke's second daughter.

Boulevards now (ten at night) as in the middle of summer.

April 9.—The heat continues. Since I was last here the improvement of the town is wonderful. Large *trottoirs*, and nearly all the great thoroughfares macadamised in a manner far superior to ours. The trees are bursting into leaf, the shops are more brilliant than ever, and the streets are filled with equipages, much smarter than *in my time.* Called on Mario, who is living in an apartment *au second* in the Rue de Rivoli, for which he pays 950 francs per month. He says everything is dear in proportion. Called on Madame de Poix, where I found the Prince de Chalais and M. de Rosambeau, both violent against the war. Dined with the Gallieras, and met the Paul Ségurs, who are Orleanists (the others being Legitimists), and they are equally strong against the war; and every one asks if there is no hope or chance of averting it. Madame Paul de Ségur was one of my partners when I first came to Paris—and is now a grandmother!

April 11.—The Duke of Cambridge and Lord Raglan arrived here this morning; they landed at Calais at one A.M., and were received with great honours. Harry Howard and M. de Toulongeon were sent by Cowley and the Emperor to meet them. At the station at Paris they were received with military honours, and escorted to the Embassy in three of the imperial carriages. At one P.M. they were presented to the Emperor and Empress, and afterwards to Prince Jérôme and Princesse Mathilde.

The weather continues to be delicious. I went to-night to hear Meyerbeer's new opera, 'L'Etoile du Nord.' The music is *baroque*, but there are some pretty things in the first two acts; the *mise-en-scène* beautiful.

April 12.—A review in honour of the Duke of Cambridge took place this morning; it went off very well. The Duke and the English staff rode with the Emperor through the Tuileries gardens to the Champs de Mars; the crowd was immense, and the reception of the Emperor was the best he has had. The English were very much cheered. I called on Madame de Gontaut, whom I found much changed; suffering from her eyes also, and fearing blindness. She told me the publication of the Seymour correspondence had made a great effect here, and that even those who were the least well-disposed towards England admitted that it was creditable to us; she, however, rejoiced that it had been settled that the English cavalry was not to march through France, as although in Paris they might have been well received, it was certain that in the south of France it would have been far otherwise.

She praised the Emperor, and said she thought he was doing well, and that 'il faisait frémir' to think of what would happen after him; and she could not but fear that one day or other he would be assassinated. She told me that the *fusion* was made, that the Duc de Bordeaux and the Duc de Nemours had met, and were mutually pleased with each other; that Nemours had said that as the Duchesse d'Orleans

persisted in wishing to adhere to the injunctions of the Duke of Orleans' will, and not to 'engager son fils,' it would be better to do nothing in that direction until the Comte de Paris came of age, which would be very soon.

Dined with Sydney at a café, and went to the Gymnase to see a charming piece by Jules Sandeau, called 'Le Gendre de M. Poirier,' admirably acted by Rose Chéri, Berton, and Le Sueur.

April 13.—Most lovely day, quite summer. Cowley told me the Emperor was enchanted at the manner in which everything went off yesterday, and at the reception of himself and the English staff. He said, 'Vous voyez ce qui s'est passé aujourd'hui. Louis-Philippe n'aurait jamais pu accomplir une telle chose. C'est une preuve combien on a confiance en moi.'

A great dinner at the Embassy, thirty-six people—Hamiltons, Wellingtons, Elys, Seftons, Lady Granville, De Ros's, Lawrence Peel's, Lady Molesworth, E. Ellice, Sir H. Ellis, Malmesbury, Lord Wellesley, Toulongeon and Fleury, who attend on the Duke of Cambridge. We dined in the ball-room. After dinner the Duke of Cambridge proposed a toast, which 'he was sure would give great satisfaction to all present on this interesting occasion,' the health of H.M. the Emperor of the French, which we drank standing. I own the wine rather stuck in my throat! It was curious to see the grandson of George III. at Paris, drinking to the health of the 'heir of Napoleon' in the presence of the son of the Duke of Wellington and of

Fitzroy Somerset, who fought by his side, both now on their way to co-operate with the forces of that country, against which we have been almost constantly arrayed in deadly hatred! It is all so strange, so extraordinary, that it appears to be a dream, and every one says, 'Can it last? Is this alliance real?' E. Ellice told me that Thiers was entirely in favour of the French and English alliance, and admitted that we had a right to prefer this Government in France to any other, because it had shown more loyalty towards us.

The Reform Bill was given up on Tuesday night; there has been the devil to pay about it, and the Government was very nearly broken up, but after much persuasion John Russell at length consented to give it up. He made his statement and nearly broke down from emotion, but on being cheered loudly from all parts of the House recovered himself, and announced that for this session it was shelved, and for the present the Government is on its legs again. E. Ellice thinks the calm will be but of short duration, and that the only way of arranging matters would be to send John Russell to the House of Lords; but would he go?

Paris, Good Friday, April 14.—The hottest day for the time of year I ever remember to have felt. Dined at the Embassy. The Duke of Cambridge, Lord Raglan, the De Ros's, Dick Dundas, and some of the *attachés*. Lord Raglan told us that he was Chargé d'Affaires here when Napoleon returned from Elba. The Duke of Wellington was Ambassador,

but had gone to the Congress at Vienna. Lord Raglan did not see Napoleon, but had communication with Caulaincourt several times respecting his passport, about which Caulaincourt made some difficulties, and said he had received no orders.

Lavalette had installed himself at the Postes, and refused to give post-horses. At the end of a week, however, he obtained them, and went to Calais, where he hired a French boat to take him across, all the packets having left the station. When out at sea he made the master of the vessel steer for Ostend, (not without difficulty), Louis XVIII. having gone there. Lord R. thinks he saw Napoleon at a window at the Tuileries, but only for a moment.

April 15.—Dined with Sydney at the Café de Paris, and went to the Vaudeville to see a bad piece called 'La Vie en Rose,' very well acted by Mdlle. Fargueil and Fechter. The gaiety of this place is beyond everything I ever saw. The streets are crowded, and up to midnight the Boulevards are blazing with the lights from the cafés, which are filled with people eating ices, and sitting out as in the dog days. It is curious that whilst we are enjoying this delicious weather, in England it is so cold, they cannot do without fires.

April 16.—Lady Sydney went away this morning, in consequence of a bad account of Lord Anglesey. Dined with the Delmars, a small family party, one of whom—Mrs. Rumbold, *née* Labanoff—sings charmingly.

April 17.—Great preparations are making for a

ball at the Elysée, given by the Empress, and for which the Duke of Cambridge and Co. have been pressed to stay. A great *scandale* has been caused by 2,000 workmen having been employed all Easter Sunday, night and day, to get the palace ready for this fête, whilst at the same moment a 'mandement de l'Archevêque de Paris' was being read in all the churches, inviting the Parisians to abstain from commerce on Sundays, and exhorting them, as now they were in close alliance with a country once their rival, to follow their good example of making the Sabbath a day of rest. This affair has made quite a *little sensation.*

April 18.—Called on Madame de Gontaut. Found Madame de Busset Bourbon, whom I had not seen for at least thirty years, and the Duc de Montmorency. They said the Elysée affair above mentioned had made a very bad effect.

Dined with Madame de Caraman on Monday. Met Princess Grasalkovitz, Lady Granville, the Duke of Hamilton, Valençay, Richelieu, Vallombrosa (very good-looking and like his mother, and whom I last saw in a round jacket), Odo Russell, and William Harcourt—a long and dull dinner, but *recherché.* Afterwards to the Opera to hear Cruvelli in the 'Huguenots;' she has a magnificent voice and fine arms, but a bad singer, and a worse actress.

Lord Raglan started this morning, and the Duke of Cambridge went this evening to Vienna.

I hear from England that there were some very nervous days the beginning of last week before John

Russell could be induced to make up his mind to give up his Bill. His emotion (which I really believe was not put on) was very successful. Both he and Palmerston offered to resign. Graham told Charles he thought we should very soon hear of an action in the Baltic.

London, April 30.—I left Paris on Friday, the 21st, at 9; reached Boulogne at 2.30; embarked at 3.45—the sea like a lake; arrived at Folkestone at 5.45. Left a lovely day at Boulogne, and found a cold, damp climate here. Stayed one hour and three-quarters at Folkestone, and reached London Bridge at 10.30. Caught a bad cold, and was ill for some days. On Tuesday I called at Uxbridge House, but Lord Anglesey was too tired to see me. On Thursday, Cameron told me he thought ill of him; still, Sydney, who was just arrived from Paris, saw him, and did not think so ill of him, though changed since he last saw him. I was to dine at Uxbridge House on Friday, with the hope of seeing him in the evening, when he was wheeled into the room; but on Friday morning I got a note from Sydney to say that a change had come over him at eight in the morning, and that he was fast sinking; and at five yesterday morning he expired without pain. I saw Quin on Friday night at nine, who told me he thought he could not survive many hours; that he was perfectly sensible, prepared and even willing to die; and had said to him, 'Now, Quin, you are an old friend of mine; don't be propping me up—let me down easy.' His whole family, with the exception of Clarence, who is in the Baltic, were

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with him (indeed, the rooms were full of relations), and he knew them all till within a few hours of his death.

Nothing can exceed the gloom of London; the weather is dark, damp, and cold, and half the town is in mourning or under great anxiety for children and friends engaged in the war.

A *bal costumé*, to be given by Madame Walewski, and to which the Queen is to go, on the 12th, seems singularly ill-timed.

May 8.—Lord Anglesey was buried at Lichfield with great pomp, and in the presence of a vast concourse of people, on Saturday, having been previously removed from Uxbridge House to the station with great ceremony, escorted by a squadron of his own regiment of Blues, and followed by three royal carriages and thirty-two others. All this was entirely contrary to his expressed wish that in his funeral there should be no unnecessary pageantry; but Uxbridge declared 'that he would not allow his father's remains to be smuggled out of London.' The Queen wrote an admirable letter to Uxbridge on the occasion. He is a great loss to a large circle of family and friends. He was not what can be called a clever man, though he had considerable ability and wrote well. He was, above all things, frank, generous, and gallant, kind and hospitable. Whatever may have been the faults of his youth, they had in his later years been, if not altogether removed, greatly amended, and his temper and disposition immensely improved by the influence —gentle and unobtrusive—of his wife; and how

great this was, his affliction at her loss, which he never really got over, plainly showed. The principal subjects of interest during this week have been the affair at Odessa—which seems to have been conducted with skill and forbearance by the allied admirals—and the factious proceedings of Clanricarde in the House of Lords, which pain his friends and shock every one.

Gladstone has also announced fresh demands upon the country. No objection was raised to the *demande*, but there will be a stormy debate to-night as to the manner of raising the means. I hear that in the City Gladstone's ability as a financier is much disputed.

May 14.—Madame Walewski's *bal costumé* came off on Friday. The Queen and all the Royal Family were present. There was a report that the Emperor would, 'by surprise,' appear there, and it was believed, but I fancy, like most other reports, was totally destitute of foundation.

Alice Egerton's marriage to George Byng was settled yesterday to the satisfaction of all parties.

May 24.—I went yesterday to Beatrix Hamilton's[1] marriage at St. George's. All London was there, and I never saw so many pretty women assembled, amongst whom the bride and her sisters were of the handsomest. John Russell, whom I stood by during the ceremony, was in high glee at the majority of 104 against Tom Baring's motion 'that it is not at

[1] Lady Beatrix Hamilton, second daughter of the Duke of Abercorn, married the Earl of Durham, and died in 1871. Lord Durham only survived her a few years. She was remarkably beautiful and charming.—Ed.

present expedient to authorise any further issue of Exchequer bonds with the engagement of repayment within the next six years.' He said Baring spoke very well, but nevertheless the majority was 24 more than had been reckoned upon.

June 3.—After a cold, wet May, June begins unpropitiously. Went to see the Ellesmeres, who are just returned from a short trip to Paris. He had been presented to the Emperor and Empress, and was pleased with the latter, whom he had once received on board his yacht at Gibraltar as Mademoiselle de Montijo.

Went to a concert at Court. The King of Portugal was expected, but only arrived at Southampton that evening.

Heard with regret that the Duke of Devonshire had had a paralytic seizure at Chatsworth. Neither his head nor speech is, however, affected, and he wisely came up to town at once.

Went to the Flahaults in the evening. He believes in the sincerity of the Austrians' desire to join the Western Powers, and that the report of their ultimatum to Russia, demanding the evacuation of the principalities, is correct. He admits that the Austrian aristocracy would prefer a Russian alliance, because they think the Conservative element stronger there than with the Western Powers. The weather is dreadfully cold and disagreeable.

June 4.—Dined with Walewski. Nobody but Messrs. Lemoine and Brouet (connected with the Journal des Débats), Granville, and Meryon. Very

dull. Madame Walewski is a very graceful and courteous *maîtresse de maison.*

June 6.—Clothed in my thickest raiment, I found it impossible to keep warm. Dined with Cowpers, and met Carlisle, who is just returned from the East, and was full of amusing anecdotes. He is by no means enthusiastic in favour of the Turks, and thinks that whatever may be the issue of the present contest, their downfall is at hand. He told us a droll story of the Admiral of the Turkish fleet. He was very seasick and ill, and obliged to go to bed, when, hearing a noise which disturbed him, he inquired whence it proceeded, and on being told it was *the rudder of the ship*, he desired it might be *immediately taken off*!

June 10.—At the levée yesterday the King of Portugal and the Duke of Oporto were present. They are mere boys, but said to be very intelligent and accomplished.

Dined with Lady Marian Alford, where I heard of the new ministerial arrangement, by which the Duke of Newcastle is removed from the Colonial Department to become Secretary of State for War, Sir George Grey to succeed the Duke, John Russell to be President of the Council, and Granville Duchy of Lancaster, Strutt[1] being ejected to make room for him. This combination does not appear to give satisfaction either to the public or to the principal persons concerned, with the exception, perhaps, of John Russell, who is said to have felt the taunts thrown out by

[1] Afterwards created Lord Belper.

Disraeli, in his late mischievous speech, on the anomaly of his position, and to have been anxious for some office which would confer dignity without occupation. Granville, of course, cannot be pleased—still less Strutt—and it is not improbable that Palmerston may be dissatisfied. The public seem to consider that this shuffling of cards is dictated rather by motives of personal consideration than by the interest of the public service; and, as far as we yet know, it does not appear that the office of Secretary of State for War is invested with much independent power, or that the military departments are more concentrated than before, under one responsible head. I met Marochetti at dinner, who told me of a saying of De Broglie which is very just. In speaking of the present French Government he designated it as '*celui qui convient à la classe inférieure, et que la classe supérieure mérite.*'

June 11.—The Queen opened the Crystal Palace yesterday. The day was propitious and the ceremony went off well, but there is something, in my opinion, unbecoming, if not ridiculous, in her Majesty and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as head of the Church, being called in to inaugurate what is nothing more than a huge *guinguette*, built and got up by private speculation.

In the evening saw Lord Haddington, who told me that Lord Aberdeen had spoken in the highest terms of the manner in which Granville had laid aside all personal considerations, and had lent himself to the new Cabinet arrangement, which must be distaste-

ful to him. It is very unpopular with the Government.

June 13.—I saw a letter yesterday from Sir Edmund Lyons to his daughter, Lady Arundel, giving a very graphic account of the total destruction of the forts of Redout Kaleh by a squadron of five ships—three English and two French—under his command, which was effected without the loss of a single man, and without damaging a single house in the town. The Russians, however, subsequently evacuated the place and burnt the whole town, which, Sir Edmund. says, extended about a mile and a half up the river.

June 16.—Dined with Miss Talbot, and sat next to Lady Eastlake, authoress of 'Letters from the Baltic,' a sensible woman with a ponderous manner. Sir David Brewster and Dr. Varden were of our party. Afterwards to a ball at Lansdowne House, where I was so comfortably seated, and amused with seeing the rising generation, that I stayed till four o'clock!

June 20.—A very fine philippic against Russia from Lord Lyndhurst last night in the House of Lords, on calling the attention of the House to the memorandum presented by Austria and Prussia to the Germanic Diet, from which it would appear that, according to the agreement existing between the four Powers, no alteration was to take place in the territorial limits of Russia and Turkey, whatever might be the result of the war. He made a wonderfully vigorous attack on the whole policy of Russia. Clarendon explained and defended the conduct of Austria, and Derby expressed himself satisfied with

Clarendon's language. Lord Aberdeen rather spoilt the effect of Clarendon's speech by one of his ultra-peaceable harangues, which, however, did not bear the strong construction put upon it by the Opposition.

June 21.—The weather continues deplorable—cold, dark, and damp. The other day, Buchanan, the American Minister, àpropos of the war, rhodomontaded to Clarendon, and said 'we should do well to put ourselves under the protection of America;' to which Clarendon briefly replied, '*You be d——d!*' On this being repeated to the Bishop of Oxford, he *naïvement* exclaimed, '*Bravo, Clarendon!*'

Tuesday, June 27.—Lord Aberdeen's speech the other night on Lord Lyndhurst's motion was so misconstrued, and produced so bad an effect on the public, that he deemed it necessary to give notice, some nights ago, that he should move for a despatch written by him in 1829, relating to the treaty of Adrianople, in order to remove the misapprehension and misrepresentation that had got abroad respecting his speech of the other night. He spoke in so frank and clear a manner as to remove all suspicion of his lukewarmness in the course we are now engaged in. He was attacked fiercely and unjustifiably by Clanricarde in a long and vituperative harangue, which, from its very virulence, went far beyond its mark.

June 28.—Dined at Ashburton's, and sat next to Lady Clarendon, who told me that Austria had sent to the Anglo-French and Turkish head-quarters, to consult and concert with them as to their immediate

occupation of the principalities, and that Austria was now regularly embarked in the war.

I went yesterday to the Crystal Palace. I think the size a mistake—it is fatiguing and bewildering. I don't expect to go there often.

July 1.—Went yesterday to a great dinner and ball at Stafford House in honour of my niece's marriage. I have rarely seen a more gay or beautiful fête.

July 2.—Heard to-night at Granville's that an insurrection has broken out in Spain, headed by O'Donnell, and that it seemed likely to succeed.

July 7.—Canning brought in the Oxford University Bill, and made a very good speech. Derby pulled the proposed measure to pieces, but it will pass nearly in its present form.

A ball in the hall at Bridgewater House very pretty and picturesque.

The news from Spain is not favourable to the insurgents.

July 14.—I never remember so miserable a summer.

Pahlen arrived here on the 4th, from Lisbon. Granville presented him at the Travellers', and for this simple act of courtesy has been violently attacked in the House of Commons, and by the Opposition press, 'for harbouring and introducing into society an alien enemy.' Poor Pahlen! Last night Granville addressed the House on the subject, and spoke very well—Lords Lansdowne, Brougham, Carlisle, Ellesmere, Malmesbury, and Strangford, and lastly,

Aberdeen, all expressed themselves in a manner highly flattering to Pahlen, and in favour of treating individuals, though belonging to a country with which we are at war, with courtesy and respect.

The Emperor Napoleon is reviewing his troops at Calais and Boulogne, that are likely to be embarked for the Baltic in our ships. It was at one time the question of the Queen going across to see the embarkation, but in fact to have an interview with the Emperor. The idea has, however, been abandoned.

July 16.—Last night, at Granville's, the conversation turned upon the attack which is to be made on the Government, on the proposed vote for the Secretary of State for War to-morrow evening. A good many of the usual supporters of Government are dissatisfied with the arrangement, and John Russell has in consequence called a meeting to explain to them the state of the case. I do not believe there is any danger of the Government being left in a minority, or, if there were, that Disraeli would have made the attack; but the fact is that the position of the new Secretary is at present far from being defined; and there is a certain sect of people who have made up their mind (without any sufficient ground, as far as I can see) that Palmerston is the only man fitted for the office. The best reason for appointing him to it is that he does not shine where he is.

The Queen is not to go to Calais, but the Prince is to visit the Emperor at Boulogne, when he proceeds to the camp which is to be formed there.

I read with great regret the death of poor Sontag

of cholera at Mexico, where she had gone to sing, and where the disease is raging. It is only a few days ago since I found myself next to Lady Eastlake, at dinner at Miss Talbot's, who was Madame Rossi's great friend, and who told me that her labours were drawing to a close, and that her daughter, who is now here in a convent, was anxiously awaiting her return. Her life has been a very curious history. She had considerable cleverness and tact, and always conducted herself with both in what was generally a false position.

July 18.—The meeting at John Russell's was attended by about 180 members, and passed off very well. He and Sidney Herbert explained the new arrangement of the War Department. There were some who expressed themselves in strong terms as to the greater fitness of Palmerston for the post than Newcastle (although Palmerston was present); but great good humour prevailed, and consequently in the evening the vote for the new office passed without opposition. It is a pity that John Russell does not oftener meet his party, and communicate with them in this frank and cordial manner. He would certainly, in doing so, avoid the perpetual misunderstandings that are occurring.

July 20.—I had a concert last night, at which Grisi, Bosio, two Miss Macalpines, Mario, Gardoni, Bettini, Ciabatta, and Messrs. Leslie and Blake sang. The selection was good, and they all sang their very best. The Duchess of Cambridge and Princess Mary came, and there were 136 people in all; and an im-

mense *show* of handsome women, amongst whom Lady Somers shone the brightest.

Hatchford, July 25.—My niece was married here to-day by Mr. Beechey, the Worsley pastor. Most of the people who attended the ceremony came down by train in the morning, and were nearly grilled alive, so intense was the heat. They returned in the evening.

July 27.—The Spanish revolution is making great progress. Espartero was, by the last accounts, expected at Madrid with great impatience. He is an honest man, but of moderate capacity, and hardly up to the difficulty of his task. There is a large party in Spain for dethroning Queen Elizabeth and conferring the crown on the King of Portugal; but this would not suit Portugal, and still less France or England.

August 2.—I see by the newspapers that Espartero had arrived at Madrid, and that the Queen had been made to publish a very apologetic proclamation promising all sorts of fine things, and amongst them the assembling of the Cortes, to which will be submitted the question as to whether she shall be permitted to remain on the throne, or whether the whole Bourbon race shall not be driven from Spain.

I saw Lichfield last night, just returned from a cruise in the Baltic. He succeeded in getting close into Cronstadt, having five post-captains on board, when a steam-vessel was seen coming out to give chase to the yacht, and she would probably have been caught, had not one of the large steamers belonging to the allied fleet come to her rescue.

By a letter from Richard Somerset, secretary to the King of Hanover, it appears that the Grand Duchess Constantine, who is sister to the Queen of Hanover, was on board the yacht which gave chase to Lichfield. But he says his yacht was never in any danger of being taken.

August 9.—I have been a few days at Brocket, now tenanted by the Abercorns. The Times announces that the Crimean expedition is to be immediately undertaken.

The cholera is very prevalent here, and seems to be spread over Europe.

Grisi took leave of the English public last night, amidst very great enthusiasm. She and Mario are going directly to America.

There was what is vulgarly called a great *shindy* in the House of Commons last night. Lord Hotham violently opposed John Russell's motion that the Lords' amendments in the Bribery Bill, legalising voters' travelling expenses, should be concurred in, on the ground that these amendments were in a contrary sense to that in which he, as minister of the Crown, had repeatedly spoken and voted. John Russell replied that the clause in question was not in the Bill when it was first brought in, but when the subject was discussed, it was deemed expedient that there should be a clear definition of the meaning of *legal expenses.* And he had therefore advised the House to agree to this clause. Lord Hotham's motion would defeat the measure. After repeated motions for adjournment John Russell was obliged to compro-

mise the matter (at the suggestion of Tom Duncombe) by assenting to the limitation of the Bill to one year. The Government has cut rather a sorry figure of late!

August 13.—Called on Lady Abercorn this morning, who told me with great emotion of Jocelyn's death by cholera at one o'clock this morning. He appears to have caught it at the Tower, where it is rife, and where his militia regiment is quartered. He felt unwell in the night, saw the doctor early in the morning, who advised him to leave the Tower and join Lady Jocelyn at Kew. He was taken ill in the cab, stopped at Lady Palmerston's, and became rapidly worse, and died in the back drawing-room. Lady Jocelyn, who had come into town by chance, found him in a hopeless state without any previous notice. The subsequent scene may well be imagined!

The Queen prorogued Parliament on Saturday. She thanked the House of Commons for the war supplies, and declared her determination to prosecute it with vigour. Russia having evacuated the principalities, Austria has entered them, and has since interchanged notes with the Western Powers to the effect that she agrees with them in considering that further guarantees will be necessary before peace can be made, and that she shall not be satisfied with the '*status quo ante bellum*.' Whether or no she will be prepared to use *force* to obtain these guarantees, supposing negotiation to fail, remains quite uncertain.

In Spain matters are in a very critical state.

The Juntas have demanded that the Queen-mother should not be allowed to leave Madrid until she shall have been *tried by the Cortes*! and such is their helpless condition, they have been obliged to yield to this demand!

Panshanger, August 19.—I came here from Frognal. The news of the capture of Bomarsund reached London this evening by telegraph, and is stated to have been effected without much loss on either side.

Drummond Castle, August 27.—I came here with Louis Karolyi, having slept a night at Edinburgh, and clambered up to Arthur's Seat—a useless expedition, since owing to smoke there was no view. This place far surpasses my expectations. There is wood, water, park-land, high distant ground in endless shape and variety—and the far-famed garden is indeed lovely. The *lie* of the ground is not so striking as that of Drumlanrig, nor has it the same appearance of prodigious extent; but there is more colour, and the plants and evergreens appear to grow with great strength.

August 28.—Divine weather! drove to Loch Earn. Nothing could be more beautiful than the lights on the hills, which are of lovely shapes.

August 31.—The more I see of this place, the more I am struck by its surpassing beauty. Lady Willoughby took me to the Devil's Caldron, and up to Lord Melville's monument. The view from this place is extremely grand, commanding Loch Earn and all the mountains around. We came

home by Crieff; the day was delicious, and the atmosphere unusually clear.

Tullyallan, September 1.—Came here to-day. Found a letter from Charles, who sends me one from Madame de Lieven: 'A St.-Pétersbourg on reste flottant dans l'attente également de la paix ou de la continuation de la guerre; cela prouve au moins qu'on croit la paix possible. A Paris on s'étonne que nos relations diplomatiques continuent avec l'Autriche en présence de son dire et de ses gestes.'

It is said that the French army is demoralised, and dislikes the war. Disease is making sad ravages among them.

The cholera is raging at Naples; the physicians of the place fled, and left everything to be done by the English faculty and the clergy, who behaved admirably. Holland's physician, Chepmell, has greatly distinguished himself by his devotion to the poor particularly.

September 2.—Morny writes to Flahault, that in l'Espinasse's expedition to the Dobrutchka (which produced no results), out of 11,000, 5,000 died of cholera and fever. The two armies are in a very dispirited state, and a doubt is now entertained whether the Crimean expedition will take place or not.

September 4.—Charles, who is staying at the Grove, writes to me that Clarendon is waiting with great anxiety to hear whether the expedition to the Crimea takes place or not: a fine sensation there will be if it be given up; but in that case it will be

by no fault of ours, but because St Arnaud will not undertake it in the present state of the army. Positive orders were sent out to Lord Raglan long ago to go there, but of course he cannot do so alone: the French have not yet got their battering train!

On Monday night Prince Albert starts on his visit to the Emperor at Boulogne. He goes in the yacht, and has a large escort of vessels. He is attended by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Sefton, and General Wetherell, and a large suite. He is to stay four days. The Emperor wrote to him an invitation with his own hand, beginning 'Mon cher Frère,' which little *flagornerie* was, I do not doubt, not without its charm, and to which the Prince replied in a good letter addressing the Emperor as 'Sire et mon cher Frère.' Clarendon is to go for one day.

The Queen, who has never been so long separated from the Prince since her marriage, has desired that every one shall write the most minute and constant details of everything that passes at Boulogne.

Clarence Paget writes from the Baltic that the discontent of the fleet with Napier is very great, and that it was even a question of a round-robin being sent to the Admiralty to complain of him. The cholera is beginning to decrease in the East, but Harry Greville writes appalling accounts of the mortality in the Black Sea fleet.

September 6.—Charles writes to me that he saw the substance of a letter from St. Arnaud, which induces him to believe that the expedition to the Crimea will take place; the battering train had

arrived on the 21st, and if the state of the army in a sanitary point of view admitted it, they would start immediately. St. Arnaud speaks highly of the Duke of Cambridge, and thinks that if an opportunity should occur he will distinguish himself as a soldier.

It is very curious that neither our generals nor the Government have been able to obtain any authentic information as to the amount of the Russian force in the Crimea, and which is the more remarkable since every one in the Russian service was hitherto supposed to be corruptible. Some of the prisoners declared it to amount to 150,000 men, but this is doubted. It is very anxious work to undertake such an expedition 3,000 miles off against an enemy whose strength is entirely unknown.

Flahault tells me St. Arnaud wrote a violent letter to Vaillant, the Minister of War, to complain of not receiving the materials of war at the appointed time, and that Vaillant replied that St. Arnaud (his predecessor) had left everything in such confusion, it was quite impossible to keep the engagement. I asked F. how all this happened, when, as it was supposed, the Emperor did everything, or caused everything to be done under his own eye. He said there was no such mistake; that he was extremely idle, and troubled himself but little with the details of any office.

I never recollect finer weather at this season. On Sunday the thermometer in London was 81 in the shade, which may account in a great degree for the increase of the cholera.

September 10.—Madame de Flahault, L. Karolyi, and I made a very successful expedition to Loch Katrine. The weather was divine, and we saw the lake to great advantage, first on a clear, soft, grey day, with gleams of light on the distant hills, and with every tree and rock reflected in the lake as in a mirror of silver. The air was fragrant with the birch trees. We slept at a pretty inn built by Lord Willoughby, and the night was so warm and dry, we sat all the evening at the open window. Next morning, after a row on the lake in a blaze of sunshine, we returned to Tullyallan. It took about five and a half hours.

The Crimean expedition appears positively to have sailed. I regret to see the Times newspaper indulge in excessive bombast; it already talks of the capture of Sebastopol as almost *un fait accompli*, and as an easy matter, although every one is in entire ignorance as to the force of the enemy. Nothing can be more ill-judged or in worse taste than these articles: for if we should fail, and the task such an easy one, we must be covered with disgrace; if we succeed, the glory is but small! The declaration on the part of Austria that she does not consider the rejection of the ultimatum of the Western Powers by Russia to be a *casus belli*, has called forth a torrent of abuse from the press. It is certain that Russia will never consider any course Austria may pursue as 'a case of war,' so the probability is that the latter Power will remain in quiet possession of the Principalities, and act no further with us; but however much she may

be abused for her shortcomings, this occupation is of great use to the allies, as it enables them to use their forces elsewhere with less risk and more power and advantage. The cholera is still very bad in London.

Wednesday, September 13.—Prince Albert returned to Osborne from Boulogne on Saturday, well pleased with his visit, and having invited the Emperor to Windsor!

Lord Rutherford came here on Monday—an agreeable man, in spite of an affected manner. He appears to be an enthusiastic admirer of the elder Napoleon, comparing him to Cæsar, and saying that all other greatness *pales* before his! In a walk I took with Flahault he spoke much to me of the present emperor. He says that above all he is a good-natured man, and has great difficulty in refusing anything. It is a mistake to imagine that he meddles in all the administrative details; on the contrary, he is lazy, and although, when he has made up his mind, he acts with vigour and determination, he is slow to come to a decision. Persigny was dismissed because he was incapable, but F. says he is a very honest man, which I believe can be said of very few of those who are employed. Lavalette is here.

I hear that John Russell (who is now at Minto) and both the French and English Governments are sanguine of our success in the Crimea; and are already discussing what they shall do with it when it is taken. I hope this confidence may not be misplaced; but, at any rate, the bombast in which

the press indulges beforehand is very unwise, and in execrable taste.

Apropos of our attack on Odessa, and the mistake we had made in not destroying the town for the *moral* effect it would have produced, and on some one saying that 'moral' was an odd word to use when advocating so sanguinary a course, Flahault told us of a speech of Marshal Davoust, who, he said, was a great brute: 'Quant à moi, quand je fais la guerre, je laisse ma philanthropie dans les armoires de ma femme.'

Lord Rutherford told a droll story of Chief Justice Bushe and Lord Norbury. When the former was arguing some case in court, an ass brayed outside, when Norbury exclaimed, 'One at a time, brother Bushe; I can't hear you both.' Bushe made no answer; but when Norbury was summing up, the ass brayed again, when Bushe said, 'My lord, I beg your pardon, but there is such an echo in the court, I cannot hear you.' One day Lord Norbury and a lawyer of the name of Parsons were walking together, when they came upon a gibbet, and Norbury, pointing to it, said to Parsons, 'Where would you be if we all had our deserts?' 'Faith,' said Parsons, '*I should be travelling alone.*'

O'Connell said of Lady H——, when she went to Dublin as Lady Lieutenant, 'that she had all the qualities of the kitchen poker without its occasional warmth;' which, it must be confessed, was a very happy comparison.

'Rutherford, in speaking of Melbourne, said he

thought him one of the most remarkable and most fascinating men he had ever known, and so unlike any one else. One day Whittle Harvey came and asked him for a commissionership, stating his claims for services rendered to the Government. Melbourne entirely admitted them, but said, '*You see there is only one vacancy, and if I appoint you to it, all the other commissioners swear they will resign, d—— them!*'

When Powlett Thompson went to Canada and was to be made a peer, he suggested that his title should be Lord St. Lawrence, upon which Melbourne said,—

'Why, d——n it, I don't think we have done quite enough for that, eh? *Scipio Africanus*, eh?'

I think I can hear his chuckle whilst he said this.

September 18.—I was to have gone to-day to Inverary with the Ellesmeres, but not feeling well I gave it up. Charles writes to me that 'the Emperor received his invitation to Windsor without any *empressement*, which had rather surprised the Government, though to me it appears to be the most natural, and indeed characteristic thing in the world, that, however pleased he may be *au fond*, he should consider it inconsistent with his dignity to evince any undue satisfaction.'

Sir James Graham complains bitterly of the press, and of the correspondence which appears in all the newspapers, detailing everything that passes, and as much more that does not pass at head-quarters, and which, with the addition of the electric telegraph, increases the difficulty of carrying on the war.

The expedition to the Crimea positively sailed on the 7th.

Worsley, September 21.—I left Tullyallan with Karolyi on Wednesday, and went to Glasgow, where we slept at the Queen's Hotel, a very good inn. I was greatly struck with the magnificence of Glasgow —the broad streets, spacious quays, and fine buildings, and with the air of wealth which pervades the place. The cathedral and the crypts are beautiful.

On arriving here I learnt that the expedition had landed at Eupatoria without opposition, and was marching on Sebastopol. I cannot account for no resistance having been offered, and dread hearing of mines and stratagems of some sort. It is incredible that the Russian fleet should have attempted nothing against the allied squadron.

September 24.—Walewski is returned to London from Paris. He saw the Emperor, who said to him 'qu'il avait un reproche à lui faire.' He begged to know what it was, when H.I.M. said that Walewski had never said half enough to him of Prince Albert, or had ever given him reason to suppose him to be the very superior man he had found him; that he believed he knew something of men, having had to do with so great a variety in the different phases of his life, but that he had never met with one who had struck him so much, both by his great ability and by his profound and varied information. Nor was he less struck with the frankness than with the soundness of his opinions; and, having passed six

hours *en tête-à-tête* with him, he had had ample means of forming his judgment upon him.

I have reason to believe that this enthusiasm was by no means reciprocal, although the Prince was very well satisfied with the Emperor.

Nothing more of consequence will now be attempted in the Baltic, and Napier will come home when the ice sets in. There will be great dissatisfaction at the small results in that quarter; and I dare say Napier, who is said to be very unscrupulous, will endeavour to shift the blame upon the Government, or upon his officers, by whom he is detested. He ought never to have been sent there.

September 26.—It turns out that the allied force did not disembark at Eupatoria, but at a place called the Old Fort, twenty miles south of that place, and thirty north of Sebastopol.

September 30.—The Gladstones came here on Wednesday. No one can dispute his extraordinary capacity, but I think there may be much difference of opinion as to the charm of his society. He has a melodious voice in speaking, but I was not prepared to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer warble a sentimental ballad, accompanied by his wife.

Lady Becher and her daughter came here on Tuesday. She is a simple-minded, amiable woman, and loves to talk of her departed glory as an actress.

Heard to-day from Karolyi, who thinks that the allied flag will soon be floating on Sebastopol, but that another expedition to the Baltic will be necessary to bring the Emperor to his senses, and induce him to

treat on the known basis. For the command of this expedition, public opinion will at once designate Sir Edmund Lyons, whose admirable management of the embarkation and landing of the troops is past all praise. Not a man was injured.

Austria's last circular to the German Diet is the strongest and most dignified document they have sent forth, and completely pulls to pieces, though in courteous terms, all the subterfuges of the last Russian note, which replied to that of Austria proposing the terms on which peace might be made.

October 1.—This morning, on coming to breakfast, I found Francis reading a telegraphic despatch he had just received from Manchester, and which had been sent to the newspapers, containing the news from Lord Raglan of an attack by the allies on September 19, upon the entrenched camp of the Russians (50,000), and of its having been carried at the point of the bayonet after a desperate resistance. The action began at 1 P.M., and the Russians were in full retreat at sunset. Gladstone had also received the same intelligence.

I had a letter from Charles this morning, from the Grove, stating that a telegraphic message had arrived from Colquhon at Bucharest, in which he states that Omar Pacha had just informed him that Sebastopol had been taken after an attack by sea and land. This intelligence comes in a round-about way by a vessel from the Bosphorus, which had spoken one from the Crimea, and Clarendon disbelieves it. It is just possible, supposing the Russians to have sur-

rendered the moment the allies reached the place, but this is very improbable. When Charles wrote he had not heard the news we got this morning, and it is just possible that the action of the 19th may have struck the Russians with great discouragement.

October 2.—The Manchester paper repeats the accounts of yesterday, and also gives the report from Vienna of the fall of Sebastopol, as having taken place on the 25th. This is probably the same account as that sent to me by Charles. It is added that the Emperor Napoleon received a despatch whilst reviewing the troops at Boulogne, and that he turned round to his staff and said, '*Sébastopol est pris.*'

I read to-day some interesting letters from Harry Greville,[1]—one written just before starting for the Crimea, and the other after the landing of the army. He is full of enthusiasm for Sir Edmund Lyons, to whose exertions he considers the regularity and rapidity of the disembarkation of the troops as mainly owing. The whole fleet appeared to look up to him as their real commander-in-chief—and the unpopularity of Dundas is very great: he has been all along violently opposed to the expedition, and has put every obstacle in its way; and even whilst the exciting scene of the landing was being enacted, in which every ship and every man was actively engaged, Dundas anchored his ship five miles off, and never once had the curiosity to come and see what was going on. Harry says both Lyons and Admiral Bonat go heart

[1] Commanding H.M.S. 'Trafalgar' in the Baltic fleet.

and soul with Lord Raglan, but that up to the last moment there has been great opposition to the expedition being undertaken this year in many influential quarters, and great difference of opinion as to the point which should be first attacked.

October 4.—The newspapers are full of exultation at the fall of Sebastopol, which they consider a *fait accompli*, and even indulge in details. The news was certainly believed both in Vienna and Paris, although the intelligence appears to rest entirely upon the statement of a Tartar, who brought despatches to Omar Pacha at Bucharest, but which place he had left for Silistria. I, for one, cannot bring myself to believe it; at all events, the report that 18,000 Russians were killed, and 20,000 made prisoners, is extremely improbable. I have a letter from Charles, who does not believe it. He says St. Arnaud is a mountebank, and despised by both English and French officers: the latter admire Lord Raglan, who has done well, was brought up in a good school, and is above all things a gentleman. It is a fact that when the expedition had gone halfway, St. Arnaud called a council of war to propose returning, and to postpone the operation until next year. I have a letter from Sydney confirming this; and also the extreme unpopularity of the two Admirals, Dundas and Napier. He says the French already take to themselves the success at Alma; but that they at the same time speak very highly of Lord Raglan.

The Queen has formally invited the Emperor to

come to Windsor (I believe) in November. She will also be obliged to give him the Garter!

October 5.—The Times is entirely persuaded that Sebastopol has fallen, and all Europe appears to believe it; but I cannot see that there is any good ground for so doing. There is a despatch from Mentchikoff, telegraphed to Berlin, and dated the 25th, stating that he had retired to await his reinforcements from Perekop, but making no mention of any reverses, still less of the fall of Sebastopol. I suspect this despatch was dated, not the 25th, but the 20th, and if so it would prove that the allies had been unable to follow up their success, and therefore that the second battle reported to have been fought at Katcha must be a myth.

Six o'clock.—Telegraphic despatches from Lord Stratford, dated the 30th, prove that Sebastopol had not fallen when reported to have done so. He states that the landing of the reserve had been effected at Balaclava, but makes no mention of any second engagement. The disappointment and reaction from the conviction of the fall of Sebastopol will be tremendous.

October 8.—We heard yesterday that Burghersh had left Constantinople on the 27th with despatches of that morning; that he arrived at Marseilles yesterday morning, and consequently that he might reach London this morning. A despatch from Lord Stratford, dated September 30, announces the death of Marshal St. Arnaud, and that his remains had already arrived at Constantinople on their way to France. This vessel

brings news from the Crimea up to the 29th, and it was then supposed that Prince Mentchikoff had returned to Sebastopol. General Canrobert had succeeded to the command of the army, and the allies were about to commence the siege. I believe St. Arnaud is no great loss.

A letter from Sydney, from Paris, dated Friday evening, says that the movement of the allies from Alma upon Balaclava is considered there as very masterly. It seems certain that the Russians did not oppose the allies after the action of the 20th, and that there had been no fighting since that day.

October 12.—Arthur Greville [1] writes that he saw all the battle, and that some of the large shot fell close to him and to his General, Cathcart, but being the reserve, they were not led into action. He describes the scene of the field of battle after the action as too horrible. It was reported that the bombardment of Sebastopol was to commence on the 4th or 5th.

Angry notes are passing between Austria and Prussia; the former is putting herself into strong defence on her frontiers.

Keele, October 16.—I came here on Saturday. Found no one but Mr. Salvin the architect, who has made a very promising plan for the alteration of this house. Charles writes to me two characteristic anecdotes of Lord Raglan. One was that when he rode down the ranks after the battle of the Alma, and was enthusiastically cheered by the troops, he

[1] Eldest son of his brother Algernon. He was Captain in the 60th Rifles, and A.D.C. to Sir George Cathcart.—Ed.

said very despondingly, '*Ah, I knew this would happen.*' The other was, that in the presence of the two French officers who are attached to his staff, and both very good fellows, Lord Raglan from force of ancient habit never could call the enemy anything but 'the French,' much to the distress of his staff.

London, October 17.—Returned here to-day, dined with the Granvilles—met the Duke of Argyll, Gladstone, and Ben Stanley. Every one is much pleased with Burghersh, and with his manner of communicating all the interesting information he is overflowing with. On its being said that the Maréchale St. Arnaud was to be created Duchesse d'Alma, some one asked Lady Ashburton what title Lady Raglan was to have; when she answered with her usual quickness, '*Alma Mater, of course.*'

October 22.—Lady Holland writes to me from Paris that Thiers goes constantly to their house, and is as animated and amusing as ever. He approves on the whole of the present French policy, and says that if Prussia would be *sensée* now, the Emperor Nicholas might be made to accept the four propositions, which would indeed be a most effectual check on his power, and we might well rest satisfied with the result thus obtained. But he doubts Prussia and the deplorable hands that govern her, and he fears that the war must spread and become general, considering *les élémens en jeu.* He considers the Emperor Napoleon as the *party* most benefited by this war, but that he has committed many foolish *coups de tête.* The Confiscation De-

crees, his absurd marriage, and the Barbès affair were all grave faults, and whenever the war is over, and *les Têtes commencent à travailler, son moment terrible arrivera.*

October 23.—I met Cameron this morning at Lady Adelaide Cadogan's, who told me that he had been with Dr. Rae, the celebrated Arctic traveller, and a great friend of his, who has just come home from surveying the coast of Boothia, and who, in the course of his expedition over the ice and snows during this last spring, fell in with some Esquimaux in Pelly Bay, from one of whom he learnt that a party of white men had perished from famine some distance to the westward, and not far beyond a large river containing many falls and rapids. Subsequently Dr. Rae had obtained further information, and purchased from the Esquimaux various articles of property, which place the fate of a portion, if not of all the then survivors of Franklin's party beyond a doubt. Dr. Rae has written a letter to the Admiralty giving the substance of the information he had obtained at various times and from different sources, and the details are very horrible. Amongst the articles found was a small silver plate, with 'Sir J. Franklin, K.C.B.;' engraved upon it, and several spoons and forks with the initials of officers of the crew. These had been worn by the Esquimaux as ornaments, and a large number of books were found; but as they were not valued by the natives they were half destroyed. Dr. Rae had no doubt, from the careful habits of these people, that almost everything

which these unhappy explorers had preserved would sooner or later be recovered; but he deemed it expedient to come home at once with the intelligence he had acquired, rather than run the risk of having to spend another winter in the snow, considering that this information greatly overweighed the importance of his survey.

Heard this morning with great pleasure, from Lady Abercorn, that Lady Harriet's marriage with Lichfield is settled.

October 24.—I saw Clarendon this evening at the Travellers', who told me he feared that the report of the death of young Freddy Leveson Gower,[1] of fever, in the Crimea, was but too true. He hoped, now that people began to feel all the horrors of the war, that they would admit that the Government had not been so much to blame in using every endeavour to avert it.

October 27.—It is reported, *viâ* St. Petersburg, that the siege began on the 17th. The officers (Arthur Greville amongst the number) write by the last mail that they were still sleeping on the bare ground, and were without their baggage, and with but little food. This appears quite unaccountable.

The Emperor Napoleon has allowed the band of his regiment of Guides to come over here to play at a military fête which is to be given at the Crystal Palace for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the soldiers now engaged in the war. Miss Nightin-

[1] Second son of the Duke of Sutherland.—Ed.

gale, a lady of large fortune, who devotes herself to all sorts of charitable works, and more particularly to attending to hospitals for the poor, and the indigent sick, is gone out to the East, at the head of a large staff of nurses, with the full concurrence of the Government. Sidney Herbert, who dined to-day at Granville's, said that although nothing could be more praiseworthy, he thought it doubtful whether this expedition would answer, and that no nurses for soldiers answered better than soldiers. He said Lord Raglan's despatches received yesterday, up to the 13th, were written in better spirits, which proved to me that the last had not been so cheerful.

The Emperor Napoleon has written a letter of condolence to the Maréchale, which has excited much surprise and some indignation. In alluding to the late marshal's conduct, he says that he did so-and-so '*in spite of timid advice*;' thereby insinuating that he had insisted upon the Crimean expedition contrary to the wish of Raglan—when it is notorious that he did all he could to prevent it, and when halfway, only consented to proceed on condition that Lord Raglan took the whole responsibility upon himself. This is really monstrous humbug, and we shall probably hear a good deal more of it.

October 30.—The Military Fête at the Crystal Palace drew an audience of 38,000 people, and the receipts amounted to above 4,000*l.* The enthusiasm was prodigious, and the *Guides* were nearly torn to pieces by the exuberant affection of the multitude. Yesterday they played, by the Queen's command,

on the terrace at Windsor, and the two officers Messieurs de la Verdière and Videl were invited to dine and sleep at the Castle. I met them in the evening at dinner at the Granvilles', and, as is natural enough in two youths of no great distinction, they were in the seventh heaven at finding themselves in such a position, and astonished with all they saw. Newcastle dined there, and seemed very anxious at having had no official news. There are great complaints of the infrequency and length of the communication between the Crimea and this country, and the perpetual telegraphic despatches which arrive, often with contradictory intelligence, make the suspense almost unendurable. Newcastle told me he was mentally and physically worn out with the anxiety and business of his office, and that, Sebastopol once taken, he should willingly give up the Seals.

October 31.—Dined with the Duchess of Gloucester, only the Cambridges, Adolphus Fitzclarence, and Major Paget just about to start for the East. Every one is much occupied with the Emperor Napoleon's letter to Marshal St. Arnaud. The Duke of Newcastle told me the other night he feared it might have a very unpleasant effect at our headquarters.

November 1.—A day of suspense. News came in the morning of one of our divisions having been surprised by the Russians on the 25th, that four redoubts had been taken, guns spiked and destroyed, and the Light Cavalry cut to pieces. This was believed by the Government, though the intelligence

came through a Russian source, I believe by Creptovitch from Brussels. Afterwards we heard that a despatch had come from our Consul at Bucharest, stating that a vessel which left Balaclava on the 25th had brought the news that the siege on that day was being carried on vigorously, and that there were so many dead in Sebastopol that the air was infected by it. It is certain that when the vessel left Balaclava the reported disaster was not known there, but it may have taken place at some distance from the port, or after the steamer sailed. The Government is extremely anxious, and evidently dread the report being well founded; and the public is becoming very much discontented at the bad management of the communications. No letters have been received later than the 13th.

The Emperor Napoleon has inserted in the Moniteur an explanation of his unlucky phrase in the letter to the Maréchale St. Arnaud, 'that the only object of it was to bring particularly into relief the energy of the marshal, by contrasting it with the very natural difference in the opinion which, on the eve of so grand a resolution, showed itself in the counsels of the *French army and fleet*.' This will be quite satisfactory to the English, but I should imagine not equally so to the French army, as it is well known that 'the timid counsels' emanated from the marshal, and they will not endure a slur (for the most part undeserved) to be cast upon them for the sake of paying an unmerited compliment to the marshal. *Tout cela me paraît maladroit.*

Saturday, November 4.—This morning there appeared a telegraphic despatch from Lord Stratford, dated October 28 at midnight, stating that a captain of an English steam transport, which left Balaclava on the evening of the 26th, confirms in great part the information brought on the morning of the 28th by a French ship, to the effect that 30,000 Russians, under General Liprandi, attacked the forts near Balaclava —that the Turks gave way and spiked their guns, which, being seized by the Russians, were turned against them. The Scotch remained firm in their position. Other forces having come up, the Russians were compelled to retire, but nevertheless succeeded in remaining in possession of two of our forts, from which they fired on our troops. Three regiments of light cavalry, exposed to the cross fire of the Russian batteries, suffered immensely. The next day the French positions were attacked by 8,000 Russians, as well from the side of the town as from that of Balaclava, but were repulsed with great slaughter. It was said that the fire from the town had much slackened, and the belief was that Sebastopol would shortly be in the hands of the allies.

In the evening a despatch brought by the 'Himalaya' gives the account of a brilliant affair under De Lacy Evans, in which he repulsed a sortie, leaving 1,000 Russians dead on the field.

Called on Lady George Paget, whom I found in great anxiety, but with some hope that George may have been absent (by a previous order) from the action of the 26th.

Granville told me that it was feared that out of 600 of the light cavalry engaged, only 150 had answered to the muster after the action!

November 5.—Heard to-night that the messenger Henderson, who was charged with Lord Raglan's despatches of the 17th and 18th, had *lost* them! He arrived at Paris without being able to give any account of them, and in so excited a state, that Cowley thinks he must be mad, and at all events quite unfit to take charge of Admiral Dundas's despatches, which Henderson still had in his possession, and he has sent them on to London by another courier.

November 6.—Dundas's despatches, giving an account of the part taken by the ships in the siege on the 17th and 18th, are published to-day; they are very interesting. There is also a very graphic account of the proceedings of the land forces, by which it is evident the Russians keep up the fire with prodigious vigour. Colonel Hood,[1] who was so distinguished at Alma, has fallen in the trenches.

There is again a report to-day of the fall of Sebastopol, emanating from one of the Greek houses. M. de Saux (of the French Embassy) told me last night that since the landing of the French army in the East they have lost 25,000 men, chiefly by sickness. We are to lend steamers to convey more troops, and are ourselves to despatch as many men as we can get together with all possible speed, so that I conclude we are *in* for a winter campaign.

November 7.—Lord Raglan's despatch of 23rd,

[1] Hon. Francis Grosvenor Hood, son of the second Viscount Hood.

published in this day's newspapers, is generally considered as far from cheerful in its tone. It speaks of the enemy as having immense resources at its disposal, and great facilities for repairing and re-arming the defences, and which renders the progress of the assailants a task more slow and difficult than was expected; and he adds, 'He has it not in his power to inform his Grace with anything like certainty when it may be expedient that ulterior measures may be undertaken.' He mentions that Dunkellin had been taken prisoner, and that Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar had been slightly wounded.

The first despatch is still missing, and the young man who should have brought it is declared by a medical man to be insane.

Lady Strathmore, daughter of Lord Barrington, has just died suddenly at Florence, in the prime of life and beauty.

November 9.—Last night at the Granvilles' I saw a large map of Sebastopol, with all the positions of the army marked upon it. One pores over it unceasingly, and I never can come to any other conclusion than that if we take the town at last, it will be at tremendous cost, and that our after proceedings will be fraught with difficulty and danger. Count Wimpffen, one of the Austrian *attachés*, who besides being a pleasant man is said to be a good officer, told us that General Hess, who is said to be the best military authority in Germany, has given his opinion in Wimpffen's hearing, that with plenty of time and an immense force Sebastopol may be taken, but he con-

siders Cronstadt to be quite impregnable. Be this as it may, I see the barometer of public opinion is falling lower and lower in confidence in the speedy success of the siege, or in its being attained without a murderous assault.

November 12.—Last night when at Granville's a telegraphic despatch came from Cowley, who had opened Lord Raglan's despatches on their way through Paris, stating that the loss on the 25th had not been so great as was at first reported, in men and officers, but 400 horses had been destroyed. There was again a report, *viâ* Cernovitz, that an assault took place on the 5th, but it is not believed.

Panizzi came in the evening, and there was a great deal of pleasant conversation. He had breakfasted the day before with Macaulay, whose History (the two next volumes) will not be ready for another year. Panizzi said Macaulay was very conscientious as to his authorities, and spared no pains to get at the truth, and willingly re-wrote any part of his book when he had any reason to believe that he had been in error as to facts.

Of all living English historians, Panizzi considered Hallam to be the most eminent, and that his book on the Constitutional History of England was not to be surpassed.

Lord Raglan's missing despatch has been found (when and where I know not): it contains nothing that we did not know, but says that the nature of the positions occupied by the enemy on the south side of Sebastopol is not that of a fortress, but rather of an

army in an entrenched camp on very strong ground, where an apparently unlimited amount of very heavy guns, amply provided with gunners and ammunition, are mounted!

Called on Lady George Paget, who read to me a letter written by George Paget to Cowley, and sent on by the messenger who arrived this morning. The details he gives of the affair of the 25th at Balaclava are appalling, and it was miraculous that *any one* should have escaped. The conduct of the light cavalry was heroic, but their feat was useless, and what adds much to the bitterness of the heavy loss sustained, is the fact that the written order which was brought by Captain Nolan seems to have been misinterpreted by Lucan. There are many stories afloat respecting this glorious but still deplorable affair, and recriminations are bandied backwards and forwards. Captain Nolan was killed almost as he was in the act of delivering the message. I subsequently heard a letter from Jem Macdonald to Lady Lyndhurst read aloud, also giving an account of this affair, of which he had been an eye-witness from the heights. His account is very graphic, and he says it was dreadful to see those brave fellows rushing to their inevitable doom without any possibility of helping or preventing them. The newspapers are filled with details of this most brilliant but disastrous affair, which filled our allies with admiration. George says that out of five regiments that attacked the Russians, only men enough remained to form two squadrons! His major, captain, orderly, and trumpeter were all killed by his

side. He had a pistol-shot through his holster and his horse wounded. A French general who saw the charge exclaimed, 'C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre!'

A despatch from Canrobert and one from Lord Raglan gave the account of the sortie of a large force of the Russians, which was vigorously repulsed by Evans, assisted by the French on the same day as the affair of Balaclava. The Russians left 1,000 dead on the field. Our loss was not very heavy. On the 25th Lord Fitzgibbon,[1] an only son, and young Walter Charteris [2] were killed.

November 13.—A despatch from Canrobert and one from Mentchikoff are published in the Moniteur, reporting that a great battle was fought on the 5th, in the presence of the two young Grand Dukes. The allies are said to have been attacked from the town by the whole garrison, and in the rear by the whole army, reinforced by troops from the southern States. Canrobert states that after an obstinate struggle, which lasted during the whole day, the allies were entirely victorious, and that the loss of the Russians was enormous.

Mentchikoff, on the other hand, states that he took a French battery, spiked some guns, and drove back with immense loss a French force, which had pursued the Russians to the walls. We must wait for further details to get at the truth; that which is evident, however, is that the Russians have been largely re-

[1] Only son of the last Earl of Clare.
[2] Son of the late Earl of Wemyss (1884).

inforced, that their game is to endeavour to harass and tire us out by repeatedly returning to the charge, which their superior numbers, and disregard of human life, will, I fear, enable them to do with great effect. In the meantime our force must be daily dwindling; and though we show admirable bravery and endurance, human strength has its limits, and I begin to fear that if we do not send out reinforcements with great speed, there is some danger of our being compelled to raise the siege. The Government is hiring vessels from all the great steam companies, and every available man will be sent from hence, besides large numbers of French; but a month at least must elapse before these men can reach the Crimea. The interval between receiving the news of actions having been fought and of receiving the details is one of almost unendurable suspense.

November 14.—Laid up with one of my *ear* attacks. Read in the newspaper the account of Charles Kemble's death, which took place on Sunday. He had just completed his seventy-ninth year. He had been stone-deaf for several years, and unable to take any part in society. He was an accomplished man, extremely well read, and a good linguist, and had a gentlemanlike and graceful manner.

No news from abroad to-day.

November 16.—Lord Raglan's despatch (telegraphic), written after the great battle of the 5th, arrived last night, and appeared in this morning's newspapers. It had been detained by the breaking of one of the electric wires between Cronstadt

and Bucharest. It confirms Canrobert's despatch; says that the right English position before Sebastopol was attacked at dawn *with immense force*, that the French division of General Bosquet and their corps of the French army eminently contributed to the decided success of the day. That General Canrobert immediately came to the spot, and gave him the support of his assistance and of his excellent counsel; that the battle was obstinate, and that it was not until noon that the enemy was repulsed, leaving the field of battle covered with his dead; that the numbers far exceeded those which were opposed to him at Alma; that the loss of the Russians was enormous, and '*our losses have been very great.*' Generals Brown, Bentinck, Adams, Buller, and Torrens had been wounded, but were doing well.

I cannot but think that our position must be very critical, seeing that we can ill afford 'great losses;' whilst we know that the force of the enemy is enormously increased and increasing, and that our reinforcements, insufficient as they are, cannot reach the Crimea for three weeks. I think there is a general feeling of alarm as to our present position.

Friday, November 17.—I have just read in the Globe with great concern that Sir George Cathcart as well as Generals Strangways and Goldie fell in the battle of the 5th. Karolyi told me in the afternoon that there was a rumour at the club that the Government had got the list, and that Cathcart was killed; but I did not believe this, because it was not likely that Lord Raglan, when he mentioned the other

Generals being wounded, should have omitted to report the death of so important a man as Cathcart. It seems, however, that the Duke of Newcastle got the news, *in cipher*, yesterday, in order that he might be able to communicate the intelligence to the widows and relations of the deceased. Cathcart is a very great loss, and I am now thinking of poor Arthur,[1] and of the loss it will be to him if he should himself have been spared. What a murderous battle! three generals killed and five wounded! Several despatches (up to the 3rd) have been published: one states that measures have been taken to protect Balaclava, but Lord Raglan adds, '*he will not conceal from his Grace that he should be more satisfied if he could have occupied the position in considerably greater strength.*'

With reference to the siege, he says there was no material diminution in the fire of the enemy, and that the day before the cannonade from all parts of the south front was heavy in the extreme, both on the French and British lines, and that it had occasioned some loss, though less than might have been expected under the circumstances. This cannot be considered as a promising report, or calculated to allay apprehension. There is a very well-written despatch from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Raglan, conveying the thanks and approbation of the Queen to the army for the victory of the Alma. It is exceedingly well done and full of feeling, and sure to please the army very much.

The Palmerstons are gone to Paris, and are to be lodged at the Embassy. It is thought rather an odd

[1] Arthur Greville.

moment for him to absent himself, as the Cabinets are just beginning. It is given out that he goes there at the particular request of the Emperor, who, it is said, considers Palmerston to be the only English statesman who thoroughly understands and appreciates his policy! Be this as it may, the Corps Diplomatique both here and at Paris are much occupied with this expedition.

Saturday, November 18.—Two more generals, Brigadier Strangways and Goldie, have been killed! Evans and Brown are on their way home invalided. Where is this to end? It is evident that the Russians distinguish our officers by their uniforms, and pick them off with their Minié rifles. How is poor Raglan to go on with all his best men killed or disabled? Every one looks anxious and gloomy.

November 19.—Heard a report from the Guards' Club that eleven officers had been killed and thirteen wounded *of the Guards alone*!

Our anxiety goes on increasing every hour, and details are nervously but impatiently looked for.

Monday, November 20.—The boat 'Télémaque' has been telegraphed off Marseilles, so that the dreaded list may be expected on Wednesday.

Wednesday, November 22.—A most miserable day. I received in the morning a note from Miss Somerset, stating that in a letter she had received from Lord Raglan he mentions that my brother Algy's youngest boy Hubert had fallen in the tremendous battle of the 5th; that Algy had just called there to obtain news, but that they had not had the

courage to see him, and begged of me to break the sad news to him. I proceeded with Charles to fulfil this most painful task to Lowndes Square, and also to break it to my mother,[1] and shall never forget this day of agony to so many others. The list is awful—the carnage dreadful.

A more glorious feat of arms than the battle of Inkerman was never known, but, alas! with small results. 8,000 English with 6,000 French stood against, and finally repulsed, 50,000 Russians. Lord Raglan says he never before witnessed such a scene as the field of battle. He speaks in high terms of General Bosquet, and of his obligations to him for bringing up his division, and which I believe was our salvation. He likewise expresses his gratitude to Canrobert in most cordial terms. Private accounts declare the conduct of our soldiers to have been superhuman, and the phrase 'solide comme un Anglais' is become a proverb in the French camp. But, alas! we are ill able to afford such victories, and our army has need of double the number of its present exhausted, harassed, and overworked force. The press is now crying out for reinforcements, and every available man is being sent off. Recruiting and volunteering are going on with great enthusiasm; 150 men per day are enlisting at Liverpool alone.

November 23.—A letter has come from poor Arthur, written on his return from the funerals of

[1] Lady Charlotte Greville and her son Algernon and his family always lived together in London since the death of my aunt, Mrs. A. Greville.—Ed.

his brother, his general, and his comrade Charles Seymour, and, as may well be imagined, sick at heart.

The siege is suspended for the present, and the allies are entrenching themselves and waiting for reinforcements. It is determined that the army is to winter in the Crimea, and all prospect of a speedy capture of the place appears to be at an end. It will indeed be no easy matter to hold our position against the enormous forces which Russia appears to be pouring into the Crimea. People endeavour to console themselves with the hope that this immense force cannot be fed during the winter, and that no *trainage* is possible; but we are in the dark as to this, as we have been in almost every other respect with regard to the resources of the Russians, and to the Crimea in particular.

Lady Shelburne tells me that the same anxiety reigns at Paris with regard to the present position of affairs; that Morny (who is not supposed to be very favourable to the English alliance) writes that, whether victorious or defeated, 'Les Anglais et Français sont alliés de cœur et d'âme;' that the sympathy of the French is with us *à toute épreuve*, and that they are deeply touched by the open-hearted manner in which we have thrown ourselves into the alliance. Palmerston's visit to Paris excites intense curiosity, but it is *said* to be merely one of courtesy to the Emperor.

I never saw society more downcast or more anxious, and a large majority are in positive affliction for lost friends and relatives.

November 26.—Heard last night that Parliament, although prorogued until December 14, is to meet on the 12th—principally, it is said, to amend the Militia Bill. Nearly the whole of that force is about to be embodied. Granville said last night that Mentchikoff has declared that the town of Sebastopol is *one vast mine*, which may or may not be true, but is what I have always suspected. I dined yesterday at the Flahaults. He told me that the Emperor of Austria has written a very cordial autograph letter to the Emperor Napoleon, and speaking fair as to his intention to 'abide by the four points.' Nothing, however, comes of these protestations. It is reported that the French are to send two divisions to assist Omar Pasha in the Danubian principalities, and that this has been one of the results of Palmerston's visit to Paris and by his urgent advice. It is also believed that he has tendered some counsel to H.I.M. on his home policy, recommending him to relax a little in the rigour of his laws in general, and especially in those of the press. Flahault did not apprehend that this advice would be palatable if offered, nor does he believe that any French force is to be sent to the Danubian principalities.

Another division of the Guards marched on Friday to the London Bridge station to embark in the 'Royal Albert' at Portsmouth for the Crimea. They were most enthusiastically cheered on their march, and plied with drink by immense crowds of people. Prince Albert went to Portsmouth to see them off, having previously sent a sealskin coat to every officer,

and sheepskins to each soldier. There were several volunteers kept in reserve in case any of the men appointed to leave should fail at the last moment; but every man answered to the call, and such was the eagerness of the volunteers to go that, when the officer in command came to muster them for the march back to the barracks, he found that several of the men had hidden themselves in the railway carriages!

The Canadian Legislature has voted 20,000*l.* for the Patriotic Fund, half to be given to France. This is very magnificent.

November 28. — Arthur Greville arrived this morning from the East, Lord Raglan having kindly told him to go or remain, as he liked best. He left the Crimea before the great and disastrous storm occurred, by which the transports carrying an immense stock of clothing for the winter and stores of all sorts have been totally lost. ' He says that on the spot no one desponds, although it was known there that for the present the siege would be suspended.

The Duke of Cambridge had left for Constantinople to recruit his health, which had suffered much from fatigue and over-excitement.

Madame de Lieven writes from Paris that Palmerston is much *fêté* there by the powers that be, and is considered as ' le Cabinet tout entier.'

I heard with regret to-day of the death of the Duc de Mouchy. It is sad to think of those two fine, handsome brothers cut off in the very prime and

vigour of life by a disease which seemed to attack them in a mysterious and unaccountable manner.

George Paget is arrived from the Crimea, and, having missed all his letters and newspapers since the Balaclava affair, he is surprised to find that he is considered a hero and a lion. His arrival at this moment causes surprise, and in some quarters censure; but I believe he had the sanction of Lord Raglan for coming away (indeed, he could not have left the Crimea without it); but such is the excitement and state of exaltation of men's minds regarding this war, I have no doubt that G. P. will be found fault with. It is so easy for arm-chair enthusiasts to be warlike and patriotic at other people's expense!

November 30.—The storm above alluded to, which took place in the Black Sea, was terrific, and caused dreadful havoc and loss amongst our transports and ships. The 'Retribution,' on board of which the Duke of Cambridge had gone to recruit his health, was only saved by throwing the guns overboard.

December 3.—General Bentinck called on my mother to-day when I was sitting with her. His wound is progressing favourably, and his health mending. He told us much that was interesting: he spoke in very glowing terms of the gallantry of the young officers, of their great coolness in action, and, above all, in high praise of the cheerfulness with which they endured the hardships and privations to which they had been subjected. He thinks

more highly of General Bosquet than of Canrobert, but says that both act very cordially with Lord Raglan.

Panshanger, December 4.—I came here to-day; found Granvilles, Bessboroughs, Bruces, Shelburnes, Cannings, N. Macdonald, and John Fortescue.

It is announced in the Times that a treaty has been signed between Austria and the Western Powers, the nature of which, however, has not been made public, but it is supposed to be an engagement on the part of Austria to act offensively with the Western Powers at some given time, unless peace be previously made on certain specified conditions.

The King of Prussia in his speech to his Chambers declares that he is in entire co-operation with Austria, and that he has bound himself to defend her if she should be attacked. He admits that the *four points* are the proper basis for a negotiation for peace, but adds some vague phrases about 'moderation.' This speech produced a bad effect at Paris, and the funds fell, owing to the suspicion that Austria had retrograded a step towards Prussia. On the other hand, the treaty before alluded to is a decided step in the other direction, and though it may not be very decisive, it has produced a very favourable impression both here and at Paris.

The storm in the Black Sea on the 14th was even more disastrous than was at first supposed. Above 1,000 persons are said to have perished, forty vessels were lost, and immense damage done to many others. The 'Prince' went down with its whole crew and

cargo, the latter being composed of nearly all the winter clothing and necessaries for our troops.

December 11.—The ratification of the Austrian treaty is to take place on the 15th. Karolyi assures me that the alliance is *real*, and no fiction. I heard from Lady Shelburne that the announcement of a treaty having been signed between Austria and the Western Powers had caused great consternation in the *society* of that town (Vienna?), and that Prince Gortchakoff had endeavoured to renew negotiations, and offered to send off a courier to St. Petersburg; but that Buol had merely replied that the time for negotiation had passed, and that the treaty was concluded. It is probable that the terms of this treaty will, when known, disappoint the public, but on the Exchange it was believed that peace would be signed in three months, and that it was impossible the Emperor could hold out against all the great Powers of Europe.

It is reported that Prussia has adhered to this treaty.

Reinforcements are pouring into the Crimea—where, since the battle of Inkerman, nothing has been done on either side beyond entrenching and fortifying their respective positions.

Harriet and Blanche,[1] Lord de Grey, Clanwilliam, and the William Cowpers came to-day.

December 12.—In consequence of the death of Alfred Montgomery's mother, I was summoned to attend the Queen, to the House of Lords this morning

[1] His sister, the Countess of Ellesmere, and niece, Lady Blanche Egerton.

for the opening of Parliament. The day was very fine, and the crowds were immense. Her Majesty was received with great enthusiasm. She read the speech without any visible emotion. It was short and warlike, expressed admiration of and gratitude to the army, and announced that a treaty had been concluded with Austria, from which she expected great advantage to the common cause.

The speech contained but little besides. I returned here to dinner. Flahault and his daughter and Karolyi joined us. Flahault told us that the Emperor Napoleon is much pleased with the Austrian treaty, and attributes more importance to it than we do here.

December 13.—The address was moved in the Lords by the Duke of Leeds, and seconded by Ashburton—in the Commons by H. Herbert, and seconded by F. Leveson. It was fully expected that the Duke of Leeds would break down, but he contrived to cut a better figure than Ashburton, who was very nervous and ineffective. Derby began the debate, and his speech was not in the best taste. He professed no intention of attacking the Government, but nevertheless attributed to them all manner of blunders and shortcomings. He suggested that some mark of royal favour should be bestowed upon Canrobert, probably knowing that the Queen had already sent him the Grand Cross of the Bath, and which Newcastle was fortunately able to say had been done a fortnight ago.

Newcastle made a very elaborate statement of

three hours' duration. Tiresome; no doubt, to listen to, but which will be read all over the country with deep interest, and will be considered as a very fair defence of the conduct of the war.

Sidney Herbert spoke admirably in the other House to the same effect. Layard made a long acrimonious harangue, to which no one replied.

John Russell spoke feebly, and, as regards the Austrian treaty, somewhat imprudently.

The Government had reason to be well satisfied with the debates in both Houses.

Friday, December 15.—The French funds fell yesterday in consequence of John Russell's speech on the Austrian treaty! It was very injudicious and provoking. Sydney went up to-day for the debate on the vote of thanks, and on the Foreign Enlistment Bill in the Commons.

December 16.—The Foreign Enlistment Bill was carried by Government in a majority of twelve. Ellenborough opposed it in a very bitter but able speech. The measure is very unpopular.

The foreign troops are not to garrison English places, but to be sent abroad. Government has not said from what quarter they hope to draw this force.

The Austrian treaty has been laid on the table of the two Houses, and the text appears in the newspapers this morning. There does not appear to me to be anything very definite in it, except that France and England are obliged to aid Austria, in case she should be attacked by Russia; and Austria is bound,

in case Russia does not make peace on certain bases agreed upon, by the end of the year, to *deliberate* with them upon future operations to advance the common cause. I expect that Austria will wish to make terms with Russia such as we shall not consider satisfactory; and France is so anxious for peace, she will be inclined to side with Austria; and Prussia, who is invited to adhere to this treaty, will of course throw all her weight on the side of 'moderation;' and the end of the treaty, as far as we are concerned, will be that we shall be left in the lurch, or obliged to close with terms which we shall not deem satisfactory. If we could only take Sebastopol matters would be simplified, and we might very plausibly close our account with Russia; but short of the destruction of the town and fleet, no English Government could venture to sign any peace.

December 19.—The Times, in a very bitter article, announces this morning that the Government mean to resign if they fail to carry the Foreign Enlistment Bill, and I hear the same thing by a private letter from London. If this be true, I think their conduct would be quite unjustifiable. The idea of provoking a ministerial crisis at this moment is preposterous. The measure is universally unpopular. Dr. Reid, the Hertford physician, told me every man he met condemned it. As for me, I cannot for my life see what possible danger there can be to the State in following out the precedent of all former wars; but at the same time, if it be true, *as asserted*, that recruits are flocking in from all quarters, I don't see why Government

runs the risk of incurring the great unpopularity of proposing this measure, or why they did not previously feel the pulse of the country upon the subject, before they thus sprung it upon Parliament. The Tories of course fan the flame, and attribute the measure to Prince Albert, who is invariably blamed when anything goes wrong, and seldom given credit for anything good.

December 20.—The Walewskis were to have come here to-day, but in the afternoon he telegraphed to say he expected a courier with important despatches, and could not leave London.

December 21. — The Foreign Enlistment Bill passed the second reading by a majority of 39. Nothing can be more factious and senseless than the opposition made to it by the Derbyites, and the argument as well as precedent is entirely on the other side.

Palmerston stated that recruits did *not* come in so fast as could be desired, in spite of the increased bounty and diminished standard; and a force which could be more quickly trained was very desirable. Lord Raglan, I know, writes urgent entreaties that no more raw recruits may be sent to him, as being quite useless and unequal to the work required of them, they die like sheep.

Karolyi called upon me this evening. He thinks we shall not easily get foreigners to enlist. By the laws of the German Confederation, Germans cannot enter a foreign service; and as Germany (he said) would probably very shortly cease to be neutral, on

no account would this law be relaxed in favour of England.

He thinks it possible we may get some German emigrants, no longer German subjects; but this only by holding out the inducement of very high pay now, and hereafter a free passage to Australia.

Hatchford, Christmas Day.—Came here on 23rd; nobody here but my mother, as the Ellesmeres were gone to Windsor Castle. On Saturday Lord and Lady Grey came. Every one is full of an article in the Times of the 24th, commenting upon the gross mismanagement of everything in the Crimea, abusing in unmeasured terms Lord Raglan for neglecting his duty in not personally supervising matters, and for leaving them to be transacted by means of aides-de-camp and orderlies devoid of experience, and without much sympathy for the distresses of such inferior beings as regimental officers and privates. Grey declares that this attack, though violent, is founded on fact; he says he had always been much opposed to the appointment of Lord Raglan, who he considered was far too old and unfit for the physical wear and tear required by the duties of the post. He had expressed, at the time, a strong opinion to that effect, and that some younger officer, who had distinguished himself, should have been at once appointed, without any reference to or respect for seniority. All this sounds very well, but had this opinion been acted upon, a prodigious uproar would have been created, even supposing such a man could have been found, but I don't believe that there was

any one forthcoming, of such known superiority as would have justified the Government in departing from all precedent. One quality was at all events possessed by Lord Raglan in an eminent degree, which in his position was of inestimable value, and that is *usage du monde*, allied to a most charming manner and admirable temper, which enabled him to act in harmony with his foreign brothers in command, very often under the most trying and difficult circumstances. Besides this, if not a man of genius, he has at all events had the great advantage of studying and imbibing the precepts of the Duke of Wellington, with whom he enjoyed a nearer and more intimate intercourse than almost any other man; and, moreover, he was pointed out by the whole army as the man best fitted for the post.

After church and sacrament walked with Grey. He said he thought the finest speech he ever heard in Parliament was his father's reply to Lord Lyndhurst in the debate on the Reform Bill. He began to speak at half-past five in the morning, and concluded at seven. The reporters were so dead beat that no record of the speech remains. Grey thinks Lord Lyndhurst the finest living speaker, but said that no man was so sensitive to rebuke and reply.

He said that when Lord Grey was at the head of the Government, and that Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, Lord G. had him completely in hand, and never allowed any despatch of importance to be sent without his first seeing it, and that it was only under Melbourne that he began his *independent*

system. He said he was a very bad Home Secretary, and gave me many instances of the slovenly way in which the business of the office was conducted, and which he attributed in a great degree to Palmerston's insisting on doing everything himself, which makes it impossible that one half of the business can be done at all, and probable that the other half will be imperfectly executed.

December 27.—The Emperor Napoleon opened his legislative session yesterday. His speech is warlike—cordial in its expressions regarding the English alliance, very complimentary to the army, and thanking Parliament for its vote. It speaks of the conclusion of the treaty with Austria thus :—'Un grand Empire rajeuni par les sentimens chevaleresques de son Souverain s'est détaché de la puissance qui, depuis quarante ans, menaçait l'indépendance de l'Europe. L'Empereur d'Autriche a conclu un traité défensif aujourd'hui, offensif bientôt, peut-être, qui unit sa cause à celle de la France et de l'Angleterre.' He then announces a loan. The French funds fell after the delivery of this speech, in consequence chiefly of the loan; and in some measure, perhaps, because no hope of peace was held out. The army is declared to consist of 581,000 soldiers and 113,000 horses; the navy, of 62,000 sailors afloat; and his Majesty asks, in order to fill up the retirements and vacancies occasioned by the war, for a levy of 140,000 men.

December 29.—Charles went to town to-day, and saw John Russell and Cowley, who is come over for a few days from Paris to see his son before he returns

to the Crimea. John Russell said there had been a conference held at Vienna in Westmoreland's house, at which Gortchakoff wa present, and heard the interpretation put upon the four points by the three allied Powers, parties to the treaty of December 2. Gortchakoff, who made a very *wry face* at this, said the matter was too grave not to be submitted to the Emperor, and he therefore demanded a delay of fifteen days, to give time for an answer to be received from St. Petersburg. It was thought that the Emperor would make no difficulty with regard to *three* of the points; but that on the *fourth*, relating to his supremacy in the Black Sea, he would demand an explanation, and that to this would be replied that *the razing of Sebastopol* would be considered a sufficient guarantee. No one member of the Cabinet for a moment contemplates the possibility of the Emperor consenting to this, which neither our past successes nor our present position give us any pretence for insisting upon. Walewski, who is of a sanguine temperament, is the only person who conceives that there is a chance of the Emperor acceding to this demand.

John Russell said the Emperor of Russia had 190,000 men in Poland, and 600 guns, and it would be very curious to see what course Austria would pursue in the event of Russia declining these terms.

Cowley says the war is to the greatest degree unpopular in France; that no one really cares for the English alliance, with the exception of the Emperor himself, whom he believes to be sincere, and of Marshal Magnan, and in some degree Drouyn

de l'Huys. The amount of the *effectif* of the army had been purposely much exaggerated by the Emperor in his speech to the Corps Législatif, and it does not approach the *chiffre* reported.

The accounts of the sickness in our army are very alarming, and it is said that on the average sixty died per diem. The newspapers are filled with letters from officers and privates, detailing the privations of all sorts they are subjected to, and which I fear cannot be doubted.

December 30.—The Times continues to put forth strong articles against the authorities in the Crimea, and to-day attacks (in no measured terms) Lord Raglan himself, for entire neglect of his duty, and urges his immediate removal. A private letter is published, complaining that he is never to be seen in the camp, and corroborating the charges in the Times. One of the reasons given for his not showing himself is that he is ill, and does not wish it to be known. Be this as it may, these articles are cruel and mischievous, and besides inflicting pain, will probably deter many from enlisting.

Hatchford, January 3, 1855.—The Greys left us yesterday. *He* is for summarily recalling *every*body from *every*where—rather a dangerous scheme, since I am not aware that we have any better men to occupy the vacant posts.

There is a talk of ministerial changes. The Times continues to fulminate against the mismanagement of everything in the Crimea, and its columns are filled with letters supposed to emanate

from officers on the spot, complaining of Lord Raglan's indifference to what is passing; but there is evident exaggeration, and probably much untruth, in these statements; and the violence of the Times overshoots its mark, and disgusts moderate men.

It is worthy of record that Sir Edmund Lyons writes that he had himself been constantly all over the camp with Lord Raglan, and had been much pleased with his manner of speaking to the soldiers; and as Sir Edmund could not have known the accusations of neglect and indifference on the part of Lord Raglan, this is a very fair testimony in his favour. Sir Edmund expected that the assault would be made early in January, but I suspect this is a sanguine view, and very improbable.

January 4.—Charles writes to me that the day after the conference at Vienna Gortchakoff called on Buol, and told him his belief was that the Emperor would at once accede to three of the four points; and that with regard to the fourth, 'la prépotence de la Russie dans la Mer Noire,' he thought he would accept it, 'provided its conditions were consistent with his dignity and honour.' 'I suppose you mean,' said Gortchakoff to Buol, 'the diminution in the number of our ships in the Black Sea, or the razing of Sebastopol, or both.' I do not hear that to this Buol made any reply; and if so, it is probable no *categorical* proposal with regard to the fourth point has as yet been sent to St. Petersburg, or Gortchakoff would scarcely have asked the question as to its meaning. Be this as it may, it is considered here

and at Paris that Russia has on this occasion made a nearer approach to a negotiation than on any other since the war began. It may be that she has taken alarm at the present aspect of things at Vienna; or perhaps she may hope, by making a show of moderation in her conditions, to detach Austria from the alliance. Austria is undoubtedly very averse to go to war; and it has been said that her own officers are of opinion that the Austrian army is by no means a match for that of Russia, and this would not be a very cheering spirit wherein to begin a campaign.

Baron Usedom is come from Prussia to endeavour to make a separate treaty with France and England—merely, I believe, from jealousy of Austria. He has, however, failed in this attempt.

General Jones is sent out to Balaclava to set matters to rights there. The staff is undoubtedly inefficient, and the Government is ill served. Argyll writes to my sister that their official accounts are very scanty, and that it is impossible that they can act upon newspaper reports, though he admits that they very often prove to be correct. The Government deserves blame for not long ago having instituted more regular and rapid modes of communication between the Crimea and England. There is no doubt that from this many of the present evils spring.

January 5.—Charles writes to me that Lyons talks very confidently of taking Sebastopol on the 28th; and Burgoyne is reported to have said that if they succeed in getting possession of the south side, the northern forts will fall into our hands as a

matter of course. All this, however, is, I suspect, loose talk.

The Government is much annoyed by the continued attacks on Raglan by the Times. Charles had remonstrated with Delane on the subject, but without effect. There may be truth in some of the allegations, but they state the case with so much acrimony and violence that every one is shocked and disgusted. Charles thinks that the Government will not get through this session; that it is rotten at the core, and contains all the seeds of dissolution. The object of the Times newspaper appears to be to write down *every* Government: it wrote down John Russell's, then Derby's, and now it is doing all it can to write down this one. So it will go on until at last there is perforce a reaction, and some Government may be strong enough to put down the Times, but I do not expect to live to see that day.

A letter, or rather an extract of a letter, from the Queen to Sidney Herbert has appeared in all the newspapers, desiring that Mrs. Herbert should convey to Miss Nightingale her desire to hear details of the state of the wounded soldiers. This letter is couched in very kind and familiar language. I doubt this letter being genuine as given in the newspapers; but H.M. has certainly expressed herself to this effect to Sidney Herbert, and the publication of this letter, whether genuine or not, will have a very good effect.

January 6.—Charles writes to me that he is more than ever persuaded that there must be a change of

Government before long, and he gives me his idea of what may possibly happen. He expects that Palmerston will be asked to form a Government, and that he will do it; that Ellenborough will be War minister, with Clarendon, Graham, Gladstone, G. Grey, and Cranworth; that possibly such a Government might go on as long as the war lasts, especially if it were waged with success.

Whatever this Government might be at home (and I don't think it would be popular), it would stink in the nostrils of every foreign Government, except perhaps that of France.

January 9.—Much startled by reading in the Globe this morning that the Emperor of Russia has accepted the four *points*, according to the interpretation of the allies.

The Times, which arrived later in the day, confirms this intelligence. I can hardly dare hope that this will lead to peace, or be anything more than a dodge to prevent Austria from acting. The whole question, however, appears to me to hang upon whether we have made a categorical demand with reference to the preponderance in the Black Sea, or whether we have merely sent a vague sort of outline of what we shall expect of him. If merely the latter, and that he expresses himself as '*ready to negotiate*,' I only see an attempt to gain time, and if possible to detach Austria from the alliance.

I am reading a memoir of the correspondence of Sydney Smith. The former is by his daughter, Lady Holland, and not particularly well done.; but the

matter is so very entertaining that this does not signify. It is at present only printed for private circulation, but is to be published later with additions and corrections.

January 10.—Charles writes to me from Aldenham as follows :—

'The news of this morning that the Emperor of Russia has accepted the four points *purement et simplement*, and according to our interpretation, has put all else out of my mind. I hardly hope it will lead to peace, and yet it is difficult to believe that the Emperor would have published to all Europe his acceptance of such terms if he had not made up his mind to go through with it. Clarendon suspects some dodge for the purpose of dissolving the alliance, but I don't see how that can be; for while his acceptance of the conditions will be very satisfactory to Austria, and will prevent her going to war, as she intended, if he draws back when it comes to the point, the alliance will only be more *acharnée*, and Austria herself will no longer have any pretext for abstaining from taking part in it. I am, therefore, inclined to think he will agree to these terms in a treaty of peace; but I feel no confidence that other conditions may not be insisted upon by one party or the other, which may stand in the way of peace.

My opinion is that the whole thing depends upon what was the precise demand made by the allies; and I cannot think that the Emperor, supposing we had asked him to raze the fortifications of Sebastopol (and I don't think anything short of this would now

satisfy public opinion even in France, and certainly not in England), would be induced to make so great a sacrifice of his dignity, and I am disposed to think that *nothing* will come of this new phase in the affair.

An interesting letter from Harry Greville, at Constantinople on his way home, states that he hears on good authority from the Crimea, that all idea of assaulting Sebastopol is abandoned, at all events for the present; that there are, including the Turks, 110,000 men, and more arriving, with which force it is intended to invest the place; that this may be a very long business, but, it is believed, one which must ultimately succeed.

Sickness was sadly prevalent in the army. The Queen's letter with the message to Miss Nightingale had greatly pleased the troops.

January 12.—At Paris, but little faith is placed in the sincere desire of Russia to make peace on the honest interpretation of the four points; it is rather believed that the Emperor has made this show of a desire to negotiate in order to delay the action of Austria, and to secure the neutrality of Prussia.

I am glad to see that according to the article of the treaty of December 2, which invites the other Powers of Europe to co-operate in the common cause, Sardinia has affixed her signature to this treaty. She is now engaged in a battle with the Pope, and her Government has brought in a Bill to suppress all monastic institutions, except those which have been instituted for charitable purposes. This is a bold

and enlightened measure; and although it will probably be carried in the lower Chamber, it will meet with a storm of opposition in the higher one, from the bulk of the aristocracy, and from the fanatical inhabitants of the high valleys of Savoy, and of the southern side of the Alps.

January 13.—Lady Holland writes to me that at Paris they hope the Vienna negotiation may lead to peace. All the Orleanists with the exception of Thiers believe the Emperor to be anxious for it, and that he will join with Austria to bring it about, and leave us to act as we please. Thiers says war is and must be the Emperor's policy. He made a very warlike speech, *after the news had come from Vienna*, at a review of the Imperial Guard which was just starting for the Crimea, and the Empress came down from her balcony and passed down the line, leaning on the Emperor's arm.

There is a ridiculous piece of gossip at Paris, that the Emperor is about to recognise Morny as his brother! and that some title is to be conferred upon him. This is too absurd, though what Madame de Lieven said àpropos of this story is true: 'Soyez sûr que *rien* n'est impossible aujourd'hui.' She believes in peace, or pretends to do so.

London, January 15.—Returned here from Hatchford. Found Charles and Reeve at the Council Office discussing the probability of the Vienna negotiation leading to any result. They both admit that this depends entirely upon whether or no Gortchakoff made clear to the Emperor the exact meaning the

allies put upon the article referring to his preponderance in the Black Sea, viz. the razing of Sébastopol and the diminution of the number of his ships of war. Reeve believes the Emperor sincere if he knew the interpretation of the allies at the time that he declared his acceptance of the four points.

Madame de Lieven declares the Emperor is anxious for peace, and that it depends entirely upon us—that to accept the proffered terms, *à son avis ne serait pas glorieux, mais sage.* The negotiations cannot begin for a fortnight, as full powers cannot be sent to the Turk before that time. Clarendon does not like to leave this negotiation entirely to Westmoreland; and the Queen wishes, if any plenipotentiary be sent, he should be one of the Cabinet ministers. I think Granville would be the best man. He is conciliatory and cautious, personally popular, and rather pecefully inclined than otherwise. This, however, might tell both ways.

Brocket, January 21.—I came here to the Abercorns on Wednesday in deep snow, which has continued ever since. Found only the Lichfields and Durhams.

A letter received yesterday from Lady Holland says that the eagerness to subscribe to the French loan is very curious. It amounted on the 17th to 1,450,000,000f. Three thousand people passed the night al fresco, on their feet, in order to be in time for eight o'clock. On the 18th the accounts received at the Ministère des Finances state *la moyenne des souscriptions à l'Emprunt* (Paris not included) *est de* 6,000,000 *par Département.* She says that the in-

structions of Drouyn de l'Huys sent to Bourqueney taken by M. de Chateaurenard, and which arrived there on the 14th, are to *show himself as exigeant as possible.* In the meantime I hear, on good authority, that the accounts from the Crimea get worse and worse; and it is to be presumed that the reason we are not molested by the Russians must be either that their condition is as bad as ours, or that they think it sound policy to leave the winter and disease to do their work, and save their own flesh and blood, secure that the work will be effectually done. There is a paragraph in the Globe to-night which mentions that pacific rumours were beginning to be circulated at St. Petersburg, and that these had led to considerable negotiations in Russian produce for exportation westward. The exchange at St. Petersburg on London had risen.

London, January 23.—I returned here yesterday in deep snow and intense cold. Dined at Granville's. Every one is now occupied with the probable change of Government, or at all events of departments. It is believed that the Ministry, as at present constituted, will not succeed in satisfying public opinion of their competence to carry on the war, and that the result of the various attacks which will be made upon them for their shortcomings and mismanagement must end in a reconstruction of the present Cabinet, or in its entire disruption. John Russell, it is said, wishes that Aberdeen and Newcastle should be removed, Lord Lansdowne be placed at the head of the Government, and Palmerston be appointed War

minister. But this arrangement is surely quite impracticable. Two years ago Lord Lansdowne positively refused to be put at the head of the Government, on the score of age and infirmity: it is not likely he would consent to it now, in more difficult times. Until Parliament meets, however, it is useless to conjecture upon the turn things may take.

Augustus Stafford is returned from the Crimea, and has made a report of all he did and saw there. He declares the statements of the Times to be, not only not exaggerated, but even below the truth.

The Queen Dowager of Sardinia, widow of Charles Albert, died last week, and on Saturday the news of the death of the reigning Queen reached London. They were both excellent women, and are very much regretted. The young Queen had been lately confined, and was so much affected by the death of her mother-in-law, that puerperal fever came on, and she sank rapidly. This news was conveyed to London with marvellous rapidity. She expired at seven o'clock in the evening, and at half-past eight Azeglio was in possession of the telegraphic despatch.

On Tuesday last I dined next table to Clarendon at the Travellers', and in speaking of the enormously increased labour of the Foreign Office as compared with that of former years, he said that in Mr. Canning's time the largest number of despatches that had passed through the Foreign Office was 5,000, and that during the last year the number was 48,000, exclusive of telegraphic communications!

January 24.—Called on Lady Ailesbury, where I

found Cardigan, who gave us his version of the Balaclava charge. His account does not differ from that which I had heard before, but he spoke with great bitterness and asperity of the conduct of Lucan on this occasion.

The Duke of Richmond came up to town to make a suggestion in the House of Lords that the Crimean medal should be conferred on every man engaged at Balaclava—to which the Government consented. It is a pity they waited for this suggestion.

Roebuck has given notice of a motion for Thursday next, for 'a select committee to inquire into the numbers and condition of the army in the Crimea, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it is to administer to the wants of the army.' The Government must of course resist this motion, which will, in fact, amount to a vote of want of confidence, and if beaten they must resign. There was a Cabinet to-day, at which John Russell was not present, and immediately afterwards Lord Aberdeen proceeded to Windsor. This is considered significant.

January 25.—On going out this morning I heard that John Russell, having determined not to oppose Roebuck's motion, had resigned. I heard subsequently that the whole Government had tendered their resignations, but that, at a Cabinet held this morning on Lord Aberdeen's return from Windsor, it had been unanimously resolved to meet this attack—a decision which much relieved my mind, since the slinking away from a justification of the policy they

have pursued up to the very moment it is attacked, appeared to me extremely disgraceful. The conduct of John Russell meets with universal disapprobation. My brother Charles told him how inopportune and uncalled for it appeared, and how much he regretted it. John Russell said he had no alternative, and that it was quite impossible that he could vote against a motion which he thought should be carried.

Hayter announced to the House of Commons the resignation of John Russell, and asked the House to adjourn until to-morrow, the day fixed for Roebuck's motion.

In the evening at Granville's, this affair was of course the only topic of discussion. It is generally believed that Roebuck's motion will be carried, some think by a large, others by a small majority, according to the *case* the Government may be able to make.

The whole Tory force will of course vote with Roebuck. The Government must resign *en masse*—and what then? It is expected the Queen will first send for Lord Lansdowne, and failing to persuade him to undertake the Government, that she will ask him to advise her, and that he will suggest to her Majesty to send for Palmerston. It is probable that public opinion would be satisfied with the removal of Newcastle and Aberdeen, and therefore that by retaining the majority of the present Cabinet, and appointing another War minister (Sidney Herbert perhaps), Palmerston might succeed in carrying on the Government for the time being, at all events. Whoever takes the War Department must be pre-

pared to reorganise the whole system. Grey would not hesitate to do this were it proposed to him, but it is likely that the conditions he would make would be so hazardous and sweeping, Palmerston, with all his courage, would scarcely venture to agree to them.

There are those who think (but these are few) that it would be unconstitutional of the Queen to appoint a Ministry composed entirely of men who had just been defeated by a majority of the House of Commons, and therefore that this Government is wrong to meet Roebuck's motion with the certainty that they will be beaten, because it will be impossible to reconstruct the Ministry. This appears to me to be a mistaken view of the state of the case; for whether they 'allow judgment to go by default,' or that they are 'convicted,' the case is the same. It is, in fact, an exceptional one. There are some who believe the Queen will send for Derby, but this can only happen in the event of every other attempted combination failing. *Bets* are in favour of Palmerston forming a Government.

The Duke of Newcastle, who is now so loaded with abuse, has behaved extremely well to his colleagues, and expressed his readiness to resign at once; and Granville told us last night that, so far from having thrust himself into the War Department (of which he is loudly accused), or of having prevented Palmerston from being appointed to it when the two departments were divided, he put himself entirely at the disposal of Aberdeen and John Russell, and offered to remain at the Colonial, to go to the War Office, or

to resign, exactly as they should think best. John Russell some time ago wished that Aberdeen and Newcastle should be removed, and be replaced by Lords Lansdowne and Palmerston—an impossible arrangement, because neither of these two persons would agree to it.

Saturday, January 27.—John Russell made his statement last night, and acquitted himself cleverly. He said that as far back as November 17 he had suggested to Lord Aberdeen that the seals of the War Office should be placed in Palmerston's hands, assigning his reasons confidentially for this suggestion, and without throwing any blame on the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Aberdeen did not concur in this proposal, and John Russell's doubt then was whether he ought not to retire from the Government, but adopted the advice of Palmerston that he should remain in office. In dealing with Mr. Roebuck's motion he considered he could only come to one conclusion: that, being unable to give the only answer that would stop inquiry, viz. that all abuses and deficiencies would be immediately remedied, it was not his duty to remain a member of the Government. Palmerston answered him; he spoke with moderation, but with small effect; he admitted that John Russell might have had a difficulty in meeting Roebuck's motion, but he thought there were constitutional objections to the motion; and if John Russell had a decided opinion that some other person should be at the head of the War Department, he should have given the Government an opportunity, before Parliament met,

of deciding whether this change was advisable or not. The course he had taken was not in accordance with the usual practice of public men, and was calculated to place the Government in embarrassment.

The general feeling is decidedly against the step taken by John Russell; indeed, it is difficult to find any one who justifies it.

Roebuck broke down, and therefore Sidney Herbert's task was very difficult, as he had no specific charge to answer. Sir George Grey made the best speech on the Government side, but the debate was flat, although a very hostile tone towards the Government prevailed in the House. The House adjourned at twelve, on the motion of Augustus Stafford. To-day the general feeling prevails that *Derby* must come in, and that this Ministry, if beaten by so large a majority as is expected, cannot be reconciled.

January 28.—Derby, it is said, is very averse to coming into office at present, and has advised his followers to vote without any reference to party considerations. There is, therefore, a rather better chance of the Government beating Roebuck—but I do not expect it.

Roebuck's motion was carried last night by the enormous majority of *157*, the numbers being 305—148. Stafford began the debate, and it is certain that the harrowing details of the scenes he witnessed worked very much upon the imagination and feeling of many members, who otherwise would have voted against this useless and mischievous motion. The great speech of the night was Gladstone's. He spoke

for two and a half hours in his very best style, and absolutely *pulverised* John Russell. It was by no means expected that the majority would be so large, though there were very few people sanguine enough to believe that Government would not be beaten. The whole Tory party voted *en masse*, as I was sure they would. This was evident from Walpole's speech on Friday, and also from the meetings held at Disraeli's. Lord Aberdeen of course went to Windsor to resign, and the prevailing opinion to-day is that Derby will be sent for, after perhaps some fruitless attempts on the part of Palmerston to reconstruct the present Ministry. Seventy-two of the usual supporters of Government voted against them. There is a *bruit sourd* that attempts are being made to get John Russell back into office, and that Palmerston will make this a condition of his attempting to reform the Ministry.

Grey moved his resolution in the House of Lords yesterday respecting the change in our military departments. He made a very long and able speech, though one very tiresome to listen to. The Times has entirely espoused Grey's views, and is writing him up for War minister in vigorous style.

Lord Raglan writes to Lady Raglan just after perusing all the abuse which the press has of late lavished upon him. He takes it with a high hand—declares the statements to be entirely false, and says it is the usual reward one receives at the hands of the public and press for endeavouring to fulfil one's duty.

The state of things both at home and abroad is gloomy beyond description, and is only to be compared with that of the atmosphere, which is dark and foggy, with snow falling and lying on the ground.

February 1.—The Queen came to town yesterday, having previously appointed Derby to attend her at Buckingham Palace. After an interview of an hour and a half, Derby proceeded to Palmerston, who, as I understand, at once declined to join him. The Queen returned to Windsor in the afternoon, and nothing more transpired last night. Every one was discussing as to whether Derby could by possibility succeed, and at what door he would knock in order to gain additional strength; and Lord Ellenborough and Sir Edward Lytton seemed to be the only new adherents there was any chance of his getting.

I regret to see amongst some of my friends an evident, though not avowed, desire that the differences with John Russell should be adjusted; and some of those who were most loud in abuse of his conduct before the division took place are now beginning to find excuses for him, and look only to what they consider would be a great advantage in a party sense, viz. that his sins should be forgiven. This appears to me unwise and unbecoming, and the country would hardly understand a *replâtrage* under John Russell in any other sense than as the success of a very doubtful political manœuvre; but a hankering after such arrangement is evident in some quarters.

The Duke of Cambridge has arrived from the Crimea. He is very moderate and guarded in his

language; and with respect to Lord Raglan, says he has done all that could be expected of a man of his age, and has shown infinite tact in all his dealings with the French: he admits that he is ill served.

February 2.—On going to Bridgewater House yesterday to dinner I heard that Derby had failed to form a Government, and the Queen had sent for Lord Lansdowne to Windsor.

Derby proposed to Palmerston to join him, and to bring with him Gladstone and Sidney Herbert, who of course would be no party to any such arrangement. Considering all that Derby and his party feel and say of the Peelites, his being obliged to sue for their assistance is indeed an *excès de honte.*

In the House of Lords Aberdeen made his statement with great dignity. Newcastle then entered into a long defence of his own conduct, and made out a crushing case against J. Russell. He was very much cheered throughout a speech which would have been still more effective had it been condensed.

Derby then made his statement, and, as usual, indulged in some ill-timed jokes, which displeased more than they amused his auditory.

I heard to-night that the Queen had sent for John Russell, and we were consequently reluctantly compelled to conclude that her Majesty had offered him the Government, though, after what has occurred, it is difficult to understand why she did not prefer sending for Palmerston, though such a necessity might be distasteful to her Majesty. Her not having

done so already gives rise to the cry of '*German influence.*'

Every one appears anxious and disheartened, not to say disgusted, with home politics and politicians.

February 3.—To my infinite disgust, Fullerton came and told me this morning that John Russell had, by her Majesty's command, undertaken the formation of a Government. The Queen considered it to be the constitutional course, after what had happened on Roebuck's motion, in the first instance to apply to Derby, and on his failure to John Russell. This probably would be the *usual* course; but this case appears to me to be an exceptional one, and her Majesty might well have deviated from the practice commonly observed on such occasions at a moment when public opinion so clearly points to Palmerston, whilst so many strong objections exist against rewarding John Russell for pursuing a line which is generally censured. The town is in a state of great excitement, and I did not meet a single person who was not shocked at the possibility of John Russell's return to power, and even at Brooks's the disapprobation was loud and universal. In the other camp there is great discontent with Derby for his invitation to the Peelites to join him, and which is all the greater that the invitation was declined.

Called on Lady Shelburne. She told me Lord Lansdowne had given no advice to the Queen, but had merely, at her Majesty's request, undertaken to *collect the opinions* of the different members of the late Cabinet, and to submit them to her Majesty.

The accounts, public and private, of the state of the troops in the Crimea become daily more deplorable. It is impossible to foresee what will be the end of this dreadful expedition.

Sunday, February 4.—On going out to-day I heard with much satisfaction that John Russell had failed in his attempt. He applied to Palmerston, who accepted the offer on condition that Clarendon remained at the Foreign Office; but as Clarendon declined, and I believe every other person to whom he made overtures, he had no alternative but to abandon the task; and upon this the Queen commissioned Palmerston to form a Government, and he is now busily employed in doing so.

I never recollect anything like the excitement which prevailed all yesterday, and the disapprobation at John Russell having, as was supposed, carried his point was universal.

To-night, at Granville's, the opinion prevailed that Palmerston would have the co-operation of the Peelites, and that the War Office would be offered to Grey or Panmure.

I saw Robert Dundas to-night, just returned from Vienna, where, he says, no one of any military experience believes in the fall of Sebastopol.

It is thought that the Emperor is willing to make peace on the basis of the four points—ready to accept three of them at once, and to negotiate on the fourth—but that he will never consent to the destruction of Sebastopol, and which our position gives us no pretext for demanding; that Austria will *act* with us

only in the event of Russia proving to be insincere, and declining to accept the terms Austria considers fair; that even then she will only co-operate with us when and where she may consider it her interest to do so. Dundas says we are under a great delusion respecting the state of the Russian armies in the Crimea. Her communications have been uninterrupted during the whole winter, and any number of troops can at all times be transported there. She has no desire to attack us, because Inkerman did for her all she wanted. It arrested the siege until the bad season, when she knew that the climate would do her work. She has no desire to *crush* us, even if it were in her power; on the contrary, 'elle nous ferait un Pont d'or,' and would so conclude such a peace as, without being disgraceful to her, ought, under present circumstances, to satisfy us. This is the *Vienna* view of the state of things.

February 6.—Gladstone declines joining Palmerston, and the other Peelite members of the late Cabinet consider it their duty to follow him, though, I believe, they all doubt the propriety of this course. Graham is supposed to have influenced him, but Gladstone's friends deny this, and say that his motives are purely political, whilst those of Graham are entirely of a personal nature.

Palmerston is of course much embarrassed by this check, and Gladstone's course is universally condemned. He dined yesterday at Bridgewater House, and various attempts were made to induce him to change his determination, but without effect. Lord

Aberdeen has done all he can to persuade him, feeling that much of the odium will fall upon his shoulders. Gladstone, I believe, would insist on Lord Aberdeen remaining in the Cabinet as a guarantee that Palmerston's old foreign policy would be abandoned, but this would, at the present moment, be unwise and useless. I hope that the consequence of this affair may be that the Peel *party* (if it can be so called) will be split and disbanded, as, constituted as it now is, it is only just of sufficient strength and numbers to make any Government weak, and it will be better that the eminent individuals of whom it is composed *carry their goods* separately to the market each may select.

John Russell answered Newcastle's speech of the other night—Gladstone annihilated him—and John did not improve his case by insinuating that Lord Aberdeen had been hasty in accepting his resignation; the fact being that, on Lord Aberdeen's proceeding to Windsor, he found that John Russell had already written to the Queen, who had actually answered his letter. This was very disingenuous, and had a bad effect in the House.

On going to dine at Bridgewater House I found that Gladstone's difficulties had been overcome, and everything settled; Panmure to be Minister of War, Granville President of the Council, and Sidney Herbert to be Home Minister, and Canning to come into the Cabinet. Gladstone wrote a letter to Ellesmere, in reply to one the latter had written to him urging him to accept office, in which he says that no one

but those who found themselves in the same position as himself could judge fairly of his reasons and motives, and concluding his letter with a very graceful eulogium on Lord Aberdeen.

February 9.—It snowed the whole of yesterday, and the cold was intense. In consequence of the positive refusal of Lord Lansdowne to resume the lead of the House of Lords, although he consents to retain a seat in the Cabinet, the duty devolved upon Granville, by virtue of his office, of announcing to the House the formation of the Government. He was rather nervous, but acquitted himself with good taste, tact, and modesty. Derby gave a long account of his attempt to form a Government, and spoke in his best style, rather apologetically as regards his own party, but, on the whole, in a very fair spirit. Lastly, Lord Lansdowne made his statement of all that had passed between himself and the Queen. The proceedings of the night were interesting, and creditable to all parties.

The two Houses were adjourned until Friday next.

John Russell took an opportunity of endeavouring to reassure the House and the public on the state of the army, and made a defence of Lord Raglan, speaking of a 'ribald press,' which has called forth an indignant article in the Times of this day.

There was an investiture of the Garter at Windsor on Wednesday, when Carlisle, Ellesmere, and Aberdeen were knighted; the latter, by the express desire of the Queen, is to retain the Thistle. My sister and

Blanche were invited to dine and pass the night at the Castle. The Queen was highly diverted by the *get-up* of Carlisle for this occasion, when he wore a diamond badge hanging down to his knees, like a sabretache.

I am told there is already much discussion at the Castle and in the clubs on the possibility of placing the remnant of the army entirely under French command, and it is believed that the Emperor Napoleon has suggested that France should command the whole land force, consisting of auxiliary corps from England and other countries, whilst we should assume the entire control of the naval force. This plan finds favour in some quarters, as obviating the enormous objections to a divided command, and as affording the means of removing Lord Raglan without offence (!); but such a plan, if seriously entertained, will meet with violent opposition, and I hope so great a mortification may be spared to the *country*, as well as to individuals.

February 12.—I heard to-day that John Russell is to be our plenipotentiary at the conference about to be held at Vienna—a judicious appointment on many accounts; and it proves that our Government has some grounds for believing the Emperor Nicholas to be sincere in his desire to negotiate; and John Russell must be convinced that he is so, or he would hardly risk his dignity and reputation by undertaking a mission which he had not some hope of bringing to a successful issue. Our sending a man of such European celebrity will also prove the importance

we attach to the conference; whilst his known opinions regarding the war will be a guarantee that he will uphold the dignity of the country. The ground is still covered with snow, and the weather is intensely cold.

February 13.—John Russell's appointment meets with universal approbation. He leaves London to-morrow, and is to pass through Paris. His staff consists of Hammond (Under Secretary of Foreign Office), Dufferin, George Elliot, and George Byng. I asked Lord Aberdeen, whom I met at dinner to-night at Bridgewater House, if he thought the conference likely to last long. He said he thought certainly not, so that I fear he does not expect anything to come of it.

Frederick Peel is to be Under Secretary of War. The Times is furious that Layard is not appointed, and is already writing down Panmure, and, indeed, the Government generally. I think Layard's reported appointment surprised every one.

The Duke of Genoa died a few days ago of consumption. He was a very brave and accomplished prince, and is much regretted. The Emperor Napoleon postponed a ball that was to be given at the Tuileries, from respect to his memory.

The cold of the weather continues to be remarkable. I have not experienced such a continuance of it for many years. One thinks often with pain of our poor fellows in the Crimea.

Palmerston and Sidney Herbert have been elected for Tiverton and Wilts without opposition.

February 17.—Parliament reassembled last night. Lord Panmure, in reply to some questions from Lord Ellenborough, made a statement of the intentions of the Government towards remedying the state of things in the East. He made a plain, sensible speech, but I much doubt whether the various commissions and commissioners he is about to send out will effect any immediate good. Palmerston made his first appearance in his new character, and after stating the same thing that Panmure had announced in the other House, he declared it to be the intention of Government to oppose Roebuck's committee on Thursday next, when Roebuck is to name the members of it. Palmerston was feeble in all ways, and disappointed his admirers on this occasion, and the aspect of the House was by no means encouraging. Disraeli announced that he should vote with Roebuck, but guarded himself from committing his party; but they will probably be whipped up as on the last occasion. Tom Duncombe amused the House by designating Palmerston as 'the faded gem of bygone administrations.' Altogether things look ill, and if this Ministry be unable to stand, there will be no alternative but to dissolve Parliament, which, in the present feverish state of the public mind, must be a hazardous experiment. There is no cordiality or union amongst public men.

The miserable jealousy between the Whigs and Peelites (and particularly the underlings of the two parties) seems to increase rather than diminish;

and I see no rising talent in any quarter, or any man or set of men likely to inspire confidence.

Richard Dundas's appointment to command the Baltic fleet is very popular, as is that of Admiral Michael Seymour as second in command.

Sir James Graham has declined to produce any correspondence relating to Sir Charles Napier's command in the Baltic, or to take any notice of his speech; saying that the gallant Admiral *had pronounced himself a hero*, and that he had a great respect for his gallantry on former occasions, but it was not his intention to allow him *to dub himself a martyr*!

February 18.—Called on the Greys. He told me Government had decided on abandoning their opposition to Roebuck's committee. They found they had no chance of beating him, and are aware that a dissolution on this question is impossible. Thus Palmerston (the idol of the public) starts by a severe Parliamentary check, and the House of Commons at once refuses to trust him with the real conduct of the Government. From thence I went to Lady Palmerston, who was the first to admit that affairs wore anything but an encouraging aspect.

The English newspapers and private letters from Paris are full of the supposed intention of the Emperor Napoleon to proceed to the Crimea. Incredible as this appears, and foolish and even dangerous as would be the execution of such a project, I am inclined to think he really has entertained the idea. It is now said that his going or not will depend entirely on the

report which will be given to him by General Niel, of the state of the siege operations, and of their probable chance of success. General Niel is daily expected at Paris. All the ministers, and all the personal friends of the Emperor, urge him to abandon the idea; but if he does so, it will be from his own conviction of the folly of the scheme, and not in deference to their advice.

Jarnac, whom I met to-day, was inclined to think that the miserable figure cut by Prince Napoleon in the Crimea might have made the Emperor rather anxious to efface by his presence in the camp the bad impression made by his cousin; but this would hardly be accomplished by a mere *acte de présence*, and unless the Emperor could be certain of some successful operation which he should command in person, I do not see what possible advantage we could derive from the expedition; and in the event of failure, or of a tardy success, he would lose all the prestige of his name, and return to Paris *damaged*. But the objections were obvious and endless. Princesse Mathilde, sister to *Plon Plon*, betted the Emperor that her brother and his cousin would disgrace himself, and H.I.M. *has paid the debt.*

I hear great praise of Lord Panmure's mode of transacting the business of his office, and his speeches in Parliament are considered very good, and evincing a knowledge of his subject. Let us hope this popularity may be lasting—but *new brooms sweep clean.*

Charles Grey, it is said, is to proceed to the Crimea to make a report on all that is passing there, in the

same way as General Niel was sent by the French Government.

February 22.—I heard last night that Gladstone, Graham, and Sidney Herbert had resigned, in consequence of the Government yielding to Roebuck's committee. Gladstone, I fancy, resigns on the high constitutional objection; and the other two feel that as the committee is in fact directed against them, their holding office, pending the inquiry into their conduct, would be unbecoming; and in this perhaps they have acted properly. This new crisis, however, is a fresh and great embarrassment, but I am not sure that the retirement of these men will be a source of weakness ultimately. There is such a miserable jealousy and suspicion of these men on the part of the Whigs, and especially the *small fry* of the party, that I do not believe Palmerston could have counted upon the cordial support of the latter so long as these men formed part of his Cabinet.

Derby had a meeting of his whole party on Tuesday, and explained his conduct to them in a manner which is described as having been entirely satisfactory.

February 23.—Palmerston has sent a proposal to John Russell at Paris to return to England, and to go to the House of Lords, resuming his former office. I have no idea that he will accept this offer.

Holland writes to me that John Russell had been an hour with the Emperor, but had not been able to prevail upon him to say *yes*, or *no*, as to his projected expedition to the Crimea. I believe a strong remon-

strance has been made to him by our Government, which I suspect will put an end to the project.

His Majesty has the conviction that this expedition would create great enthusiasm amongst the masses and in the army, but surely, to produce this, he must be certain of some great success, in which he should take an active part, and this cannot be counted upon with any confidence at present.

February 24.—To my great surprise I heard today that John Russell has agreed to take the Colonial Office, but remaining in the House of Commons, and in the meanwhile is to proceed to Vienna immediately. Accounts from Paris state that the general belief there is that the Emperor will proceed to the Crimea at once. Last night, on Palmerston moving the postponement of the first order of the day, Gladstone, Graham, and Sidney Herbert gave their reasons for their secession from office. Graham, who had hitherto had no opportunity of delivering his sentiments on Roebuck's committee, made a most convincing and unanswerable speech on that subject, aud justified himself, as I think, entirely for leaving the Government. Gladstone spoke well, as he always does, but at too much length. Sidney Herbert was ill, and did not appear to advantage. They all three stood upon the ground that they could only look upon the vote as a censure upon themselves, and that when they took office with Palmerston, it was with the full belief that the newly constituted Government would have been able successfully to resist the committee, to which the same objection existed in February that

had been made to it in January. Finding, however, that it was to be granted, they felt that, consistently with their feelings and opinions upon the subject, they could not with any advantage or honour remain in office. They all used the same arguments. The fact is that Hayter misled Palmerston to the belief that he would have power and strength enough to induce the House to consent to the postponement at least, if not to the abandonment of the committee; and it was only on the Friday, when he first made his appearance in the House as Prime Minister, that he discovered that the temper of the House was such as to make resistance quite useless. Bright made a most beautiful and eloquent speech, urging the Government to make peace in a tone which, in spite of the warlike prepossessions of the House, produced a very great effect. Palmerston spoke fairly, but by no means vigorously, and he and the seceders parted in terms of great harmony.

Pourvu que cela dure!

There is a strong idea prevailing that Palmerston will not be able to lead the House with John Russell by his side, who is so much more acquainted with this *rôle*. There *are* those, indeed, who think John will trip him up at the first opportunity!

February 28.—Palmerston has not yet been able to complete his Ministry. The appointment of Vernon Smith meets with universal disapprobation, and is said to have been made at Lord Lansdowne's request: both he and Wood, who goes to the Admiralty, will have contests. V. Smith is opposed by Napier Sturt,

who was wounded in the Crimea, and starts on Cardigan's interest.

St. Germans having resigned (in consequence, it is said, of the Government newspapers giving him broad hints to do so), Carlisle is to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. I met him last night in a state of infinite and unaffected delight. Mr. Laing was offered the Ordnance, which is about to be remodelled, with the rank of Privy Councillor, but has declined, on account of his mercantile associations. This appointment was considered very judicious.

Holland writes to me that 'the Emperor's journey to the Crimea is announced to be deferred. The project was seriously entertained, and, though deferred, is by no means abandoned; and it is believed that the day after the signature of Prussia is obtained, he will be off. All the foes of his dynasty in society are anxious he should go. All who have to do with the Court are quite *mad* at the journey.'

It is believed in some quarters that his generals in the Crimea do not agree, and that a mutinous spirit exists in the army. He therefore wishes to go, in order to satisfy himself as to the real state of things. Strong remonstrances against this foolish plan have been made to him from home and from Vienna.

There is a strong idea that Palmerston's Government will not last. With the sole exception of Panmure, who seems to do well and to give satisfaction, there is no new element of strength, and all that was eminent or conspicuous for ability and talent has fallen from it. There is a general mistrust of every-

body and of everything, and a disposition to carp and find fault with everything; and, besides this, a strong reaction in the public mind with regard to the vigour and *savoir faire* of Palmerston. This, of course, begets confidence in the Derby party of a speedy return to power.

March 2.—Heard in the middle of the day that the Emperor Nicholas was seriously ill. A telegraphic despatch came from John Russell from Berlin, stating that the King of Prussia had put off a dinner at Court in consequence. I subsequently heard from Canning, who came to take me to dinner at the Ashburtons', that telegraphic despatches had been received from Berlin and the Hague, reporting that the Emperor had died between 12 and 1 A.M. *this morning*, of what they called pulmonic apoplexy, caused by influenza. Clarendon announced the event in the House of Lords, and invited Lord Lyndhurst to postpone his motion, which stood for this evening, on the neutrality of Prussia, as it was not impossible but that this unexpected event might have great and important influence on the war, on the negotiations for peace, and possibly also on the policy of Russia; and the discussion might be attended with considerable inconvenience.

Lord Lyndhurst consented to postpone, not to withdraw his motion.

This event of course throws everything else into the shade, and gives rise to every sort of conjecture; first, as to whether the Czarowitz will be allowed to proceed quietly, and as to how the Emperor's death

will influence the question of peace or war. I think the general opinion is that it is likely to promote the former, inasmuch as, the personal prestige which attached to Nicholas being at an end, it is not improbable that Germany, [and Prussia in particular,] may feel itself emancipated, and be disposed to act cordially with the Western Powers. On the other hand, if the war party in Russia be strong and powerful, it is possible that Alexander, in order to secure his own position in opposition to his brother Constantine, may find it necessary to embrace their views, and may not feel himself sufficiently strong to accept such terms as the Western Powers may be disposed to offer.

The next news from St. Petersburg will be of vital interest and importance.

Dined at the Ashburtons'. Met Greys, Lord Lansdowne, Ván de Weyer, Canning, Norman Macdonald, and F. Baring.

Clarendon goes to Boulogne to-morrow to meet the Emperor Napoleon, who is to review his army encamped there. I believe Clarendon's object is to dissuade the Emperor from going to the Crimea, and to talk over future plans. Francis Baring told me he believed the Emperor's chief motive for this expedition was the knowledge he had of the great popularity it would give him in the army and amongst the masses. He does not believe there is, as reported, any discord among the generals. Well-informed persons are of opinion that just now the Emperor is disinclined to peace, and that he considers a great

military success absolutely necessary for the honour of France and his own position.

Lucan read his correspondence with Lord Raglan in the House of Lords to-night, relating to the Balaclava affair and his recall, and stated that he had demanded a court-martial. He made no comments, and Granville suggested that there should be no discussion on the subject. Lucan's despatch to Lord Raglan, complaining of the expression 'misconception of instructions,' in the official report of the latter, is very temperate.

It was decided by the House of Commons that Roebuck's committee shall be public; and this decision is much approved, as being likely to increase the chance of its sooner breaking down, and because more caution will be observed in asking questions.

Algy Egerton writes from Balaclava that the provisions sent by the 'Crimean Fund' will be easily distributed and most gratefully received.

March 7.—Clarendon expresses himself much satisfied with his interview with the Emperor. He had never seen him before, except once, when he came to him when President of the Board of Trade with a deputation.

I think the hopes of peace, which suddenly became so rife on the intelligence of the death of the Emperor Nicholas, are beginning to wane. We must wait some time before the real *animus* of the new Emperor be known, but it is generally thought that he will carry out the policy of his father. It appears that Mentchikoff had already been recalled by the

Emperor Nicholas, and Gortchakoff appointed to be his successor. The Russian envoy at Vienna, Gortchakoff, had received his fresh powers, and the conference is to begin at once.

A French pamphlet, entitled 'Mémoire adressé au Gouvernement de l'Empereur par un Officier Général,' has excited a great deal of curiosity. It was immediately suppressed at Paris, and bought up at Brussels, but is published here. It contains much that is true, and a great deal that is false, as to what has passed in the camp and at home, and evinces great bitterness against the Emperor and St. Arnaud. Francis Baring told me he thought it was Charrast, and not Emile Girardin (as supposed), who had written it, and that it was very probable Prince Napoleon had furnished much of the information. His Imperial Highness is now known in the camp as 'Craint Plomb.'

March 11.—There has been great confusion and mismanagement respecting the minor appointments of the Government, some of which are still unsettled. Sir Robert Peel, who was first offered the clerkship of the Ordnance and accepted it, was subsequently informed he could not have it, because Mr. Monsell had withdrawn his resignation. He was then offered the Under Secretaryship of the Colonies, subject to the approval of John Russell, who declined to confirm the appointment. He has since been named one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Frederick Peel, it is said, is to be Secretary of Treasury, *vice* Wilson, who goes to Board of Trade as Vice-President.

The Duchy of Lancaster has been a long time vacant, because Shaftesbury could not make up his mind whether to accept it or not. All this hesitation and changing about does not add to the appearance of strength in Palmerston's administration. He is speaking much better than at first.

Madame de Lieven writes to Charles a very interesting letter on the death of the Emperor Nicholas. She believes that he will have a great name in history, and that he was beloved by the Russian people. She scouts the idea that he met a violent death, and says that she had heard from Baron Meyendorff some days before his death that he was ill of the *grippe*. The new Emperor, she says, resembles the Emperor Alexander in character, and she has a good opinion of his head and heart. There is no foundation, she asserts, for the reported discord between him and the Grand Duke Constantine, from whom he will meet with nothing but obedience and affection. She sees with regret, she proceeds to say, that the allied Powers deem the opportunity favourable for endeavouring to weaken Russia, in which she believes they will find themselves much mistaken. The Emperor Alexander cannot begin his reign by a *lâcheté*, and therefore the Vienna conference can only be considered as 'une comédie.'

Since Clarendon's visit to the Emperor Napoleon at Boulogne, the *mot d'ordre* at Paris is 'que rien n'est changé,' and it is there believed that his Majesty will proceed to the Crimea at the end of the month.

We are buried in snow.

Friday, March 16.—Instead of going to the Crimea, it seems very likely that the Emperor Napoleon will come here very shortly, accompanied by the Empress. The apartments destined to receive him at Windsor and Buckingham Palace are being furnished with great splendour and in all haste.

Yesterday I dined with Lady Waldegrave, and sat next to Van de Weyer. He seems to think the aspect of affairs less peaceful than it was a few days ago; he fears the Emperor will not venture, and indeed could not afford to withdraw his army from the Crimea without its having achieved some signal success; and he thought no *mezzo termine* such as Austria would propose would be deemed sufficient.

Sir Robert Peel, who has been at length appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, has not begun his official career very discreetly. In his speech on his re-election he declares that no settlement of the Eastern question will be considered satisfactory unless Poland and Hungary are emancipated; and he denounced the Austrian alliance.

Last night, therefore, Palmerston was asked whether these were the sentiments of the Government at large; to which he replied that 'he was only answerable for the opinions which he expressed in that House, and not for those imputed by newspapers to other people.' Such exhibitions, however, are ill calculated to strengthen any Government, and the appointment of Sir Robert Peel is considered generally as very injudicious.

Wednesday, March 21.—(Fast day.)

Last night Lord Lyndhurst made his motion on the policy of Prussia with regard to Russia and the Western Powers. His speech, which lasted one hour and a quarter, was vigorous and lucid, and a wonderful effort for a man in his eighty-third year. Clarendon replied, and remarkably well; admitted the truth of all Lord Lyndhurst had said, but argued that the door was still open for Prussia.

Lady Holland writes to me from Paris that Prince Jérôme had told her he thought the Emperor was beginning to be influenced by the strong pacific feeling which pervaded nearly all classes and parties in France; and Princess Lieven assures her that Russia is sincerely desirous of peace, and that it rests with us to make it possible that he should conclude it.

Palmerston was asked by William Graham whether Count Colloredo had called for any explanation of Sir Robert Peel's speech at Tamworth. He did not answer the question, but said that Austria was well acquainted with the opinion of her Majesty's Government with regard to Hungary; and that with respect to Poland, it was his opinion that that country was a standing menace to Germany; and it was for the Governments of Germany to consider how far it endangered their interests; but that the negotiations at Vienna were confined to the 'four points,' and the Austrian Government was perfectly cognizant of the views and objects of the British Government.

Colloredo did ask Clarendon if Sir Robert Peel's

views were shared by the Government, and Clarendon answered '*of course not.*'

It is said that the Emperor Napoleon is determined to go to the Crimea if the negotiations for peace should fail, and that the Empress is to accompany him.

'What is the difference between Britannia and the Czar?—The one rules the waves, the other the *serf.*'

'What is the difference between the Czar and the Times?—The one is the type of Despotism, the other the despotism of the Type.'

March 23.—Dined with Bessborough. Met Newcastle, Granville, Canning, Giffard, and Sydneys. Newcastle is only waiting for his examination by the committee to proceed to the Crimea and Circassia: he does not expect to be there before June 1st, and fears he shall find Sebastopol still in the hands of the Russians. There can be no doubt that it is far stronger now than when we began the siege.

March 25.—Dined yesterday at Molesworth's—a very long and tedious function. Wellingtons, Lord Lansdowne, Greys, Lady Waldegrave, Stanley of Alderley, Lady Ailesbury, &c. &c. These long and large banquets are sad inflictions, and seem to amuse nobody. Afterwards to Lady Granville, where I found Kielmansegge very hopeful of peace, principally owing to a remarkable, well-written, and moderate article in the Journal des Débats, written by Sacy, and setting forth that the destruction of Sebastopol need by no means be a *sine quâ non*

for concluding a peace safe and honourable to all parties. Kielmansegge thinks the French Government would not have allowed the insertion of such an article did they not share the same opinion. Granville said it was well known that Drouyn de l'Huys, Morny, and Persigny were violently in favour of peace; whilst the Emperor was very reserved in expressing his opinion, and perhaps undecided on the subject; and Granville did not seem to attach much importance to this article. Kielmansegge said if we don't soon make peace, he thought that America would very shortly pick a quarrel with us. It was evident they intended to take Cuba, and the state of our relations with the United States was extremely menacing.

March 26.—A letter from Pahlen, dated 15th, from St. Petersburg, tells me that the Emperor's remains, after lying in state for a week at the palace, were taken on Sunday last to the church in the fortress, where all his predecessors since Peter I. are deposited. It was a long funeral procession, which the Emperor followed on foot, with his brother Constantine and several foreign princes, amongst whom it was odd under present circumstances to see the Archduke William, youngest son of the Archduke Charles. The Emperor's younger brothers only arrived from Sebastopol in the evening of the 12th. The body remains in state in the church, in the open coffin for a week, and will then be lowered into the vault. It was according to the late Emperor's desire, expressed a few hours before his death, that

these funeral ceremonies were limited to a fortnight; they always lasted much longer. He also ordered that the general mourning should be limited to six weeks; but this for several reasons could not be done, though it has been shortened—for, according to the old rule, it lasted a year. He died with admirable calmness and self-possession; from the instant that he was informed of his hopeless state he performed his religious duties, and took leave of his family and attendants, but did not utter a word on public affairs, with which he had done, refusing even to have despatches opened that had just arrived from the Crimea. 'I shall not attempt to speculate upon the influence this event may have on the Vienna conferences. I defy anybody to foresee anything correctly in these complicated circumstances.'

March 28.—Dined at Bridgewater House yesterday, and met Elgin, who told me he had refused the Duchy of Lancaster, from no hostility to the Government, but merely because, as he had told Palmerston, he had been so long absent from England, and being committed to no party, he wished to feel his way and remain unfettered for the present. I can understand his declining on these grounds, but he is sure to be abused by the supporters of the Government for 'waiting upon fortune.'

The aspect of affairs at Vienna is not favourable to peace.

March 31.—After going begging for five weeks, the Duchy of Lancaster has at last been accepted by Harrowby. E. Bouverie is appointed Vice-President

of Board of Trade. These two appointments give satisfaction.

Drouyn de l'Huys has been here for twenty-four hours, and is about to proceed to Vienna. He is come to confer with our Government on the 'third point,' which, as interpreted by the allies, is unpalatable to Russia, and likely to lead to a rupture of the conference; and it is believed that Drouyn de l'Huys has proposed to our Cabinet to concoct a new proposition more likely to find favour with the Russian Government.

The Emperor and Empress of the French are to be at Windsor on the 16th.

Parliament adjourned last night until the 16th. Ellenborough made a long speech reviewing the proceedings connected with the war, and urging that we are in no condition to demand any humiliating concessions from Russia. Granville replied with great spirit and discretion. He is improving in speaking.

Dined with Palmerston, the Argylls, &c. He is just returned from Glasgow, where, on his election as Lord Rector, he made a very brilliant speech.

April 2.—Lady Rokeby told me to-day that Rokeby writes her from the Crimea that the French troops are very difficult to *bring to the scratch*, and that their army is in a very disorganised state. Everything is fast improving in our camp, and he only regrets that what is now doing had not been done long ago.

April 13.—The visit of the French Emperor and Empress engrosses public attention. Prince Albert

goes to Dover to meet their Imperial Majesties on Monday. They are to be at Windsor from that day until Thursday, when they come to Buckingham Palace until Saturday. On Tuesday there is to be a great dinner at the Castle, and about one hundred people are invited in the evening from London, and are to be conveyed by special train to and fro. On Wednesday there is to be an investiture of the Garter, and a party in the evening. They are to go to the City, to the Crystal Palace, and to the Opera in state. The Emperor brings Marshal Vaillant, the Duc de Bassano, Messrs. Fleury, Ney, and Tourlongeon. The Empress is attended by the Princesse d'Essling, the Comtesse de Montebello, and Madame de Malaret. Lady Ely and Miss Seymour are appointed by the Queen to attend upon the Empress; Lord Somers and Alfred Paget on the Emperor. There has appeared in the Moniteur an elaborate statement of the operations of the allied armies in the East, which is very curious and well done—said to be written by Laguerronière, but evidently dictated by the Emperor, and intended to put H.M. in a good light before the army and the country.

Monday, April 16.—The Queen came to town on Saturday morning to see the apartments which have been prepared for the Emperor. They bring an incredible number of people, sixteen horses, and twenty-four grooms, and eight French policemen who are to be lodged in the Castle. This was suggested by our Government as a matter of precaution. The Empress has five maids! The Prince slept last night

at Dover. They are to pass through the most frequented streets, and the excitement and ouriosity to see the entrance is very great. The day is wonderfully fine and warm for the time of year.

Monday Evening.—Owing to a dense fog which hung over Dover and halfway between that port and Calais, the Imperial flotilla only reached the pier at one o'clock, having been four instead of two hours in making the passage, and having had the greatest difficulty in steering, through the density of the atmosphere, which obscured not only the whole fleet lying in the Channel, but even the vessel which conveyed their Majesties, until within twenty yards of the pier. Prince Albert had been cooling his heels, waiting for the arrival, with Cowper as Lord Lieutenant of the county and his suite, for above two hours, and had begun to be very nervous at the non-arrival of the Imperial guests. After landing and lunching they got into the train, and reached the 'Bricklayers' Arms' at five o'clock, from whence, escorted by cavalry, and amidst enthusiastic cheers from an enormous multitude, they proceeded by Westminster Bridge, Whitehall, Pall Mall, St. James's, and Piccadilly, by the Serpentine to the Paddington station. The crowd was prodigious—every roof and window were filled, and on no other occasion did I ever see the English people so excited, or hear them cheer so loudly. It was indeed a most curious spectacle to see the Queen's carriage conveying an Emperor Napoleon and an Empress of the French, accompanied by the Prince Consort, sitting backwards, proceed up

Piccadilly amidst the shouts of the people, with the statue of the Duke of Wellington opposite to them nearly the whole way; and one could not but reflect upon the circumstances which had caused that statue to be placed there, and upon the scene then enacting before us—the wonderful contrast, the futility of all human calculations, the marvellous change in the fortunes of the man to whom the people of England were making this ovation! It really seemed like the event of a fairy tale.

They reached Windsor at seven in the evening. Sydney, who was in waiting at the Castle, told me the Queen received them at the bottom of the staircase; the Prince jumped out of the carriage, then the Emperor, who kissed the Queen, she returning the salute. He then presented the Empress, and they also embraced, and then all proceeded to the drawing-room, where, after remaining for a short time together, the Emperor presented his household, which finished, the Queen conducted the Empress to her apartment.

I saw the arrival from Lord Cadogan's balcony. The day was as hot as July, and without wind.

Wednesday, April 18.—No one speaks or thinks of anything but the *Imperials*. People rushed down in crowds to-day to a review (if it could be so called) of the Life Guards in the Home Park, under the command of Cardigan, and at which the whole Court was present. Of course this affair was a mere *toy* in comparison with what the French are accustomed to see, but the magnificence of the men and their *tenue* struck them very much. In the evening

there was a great dinner in St. George's Hall, and a dance afterwards in the Waterloo Gallery, now called the *Picture* Gallery! (for in these times we even go so far as to apologise for *history*!). It was a dull affair, too few people, and those were obliged to go to Windsor in a special train, where they found *flys* to take them to the Castle.

The Queen appeared quite at her ease, and evidently pleased with her guests.

Thursday, April 19.—The investiture was held yesterday; after the Queen had given the Emperor the insignia, and that he had taken the oaths, he made her a short speech, which was said to be in very good taste. The Empress and all the Court assisted at the ceremony in full dress. In the evening there was an immense dinner; all the knights summoned to attend the investiture were invited to the banquet. To-day they all came to town, and the Emperor and Empress went in state to Guildhall. The whole line of their passage was covered with a countless multitude. The streets were hung with flags, and one great cheer attended their progress. It was indeed a curious thing to see the London populace literally drunk with enthusiasm. The ceremony itself was very well managed, and the Emperor made an excellent speech in answer to the City address, which was read by James Wortley as Recorder. It was adroit, and in good taste. After the ceremony they returned by a different route, always amidst continued cheering, and proceeded to Walewski's house to receive the Corps Diplomatique. I shall be truly

glad when they are all gone, for the streets are nearly impassable for the crowds that block them up in every direction. To-night they went in state to the Opera at Covent Garden. The streets were a perfect blaze of illumination, and the crowd something *awful*. They reached the theatre for the second act of 'Fidelio' (not a very happy choice, considering the severity of the music and the lugubrious subject), and they were of course received with great cheering by a house crowded to the roof. Boxes were sold for fabulous prices; 100 guineas, 80 guineas, and 50 guineas were paid for them, and stalls were difficult to get for 10*l*. The Empress was of course beautifully dressed. The Queen is pleased with both of them, and much relieved by everything going off so well.

We heard on Monday that the bombardment of Sebastopol began on the 9th, and that up to the 10th the allies had had the advantage, though there was no decisive result. Letters from the Crimea speak much of the bad state of the French army, and of the probability of the two armies not remaining long in harmony, owing to the English beginning to *chaff* the French for their cowardice. An officer writes to his father, 'The French behaved better last night (in some sortie); *they only ran away once.*'

It is supposed that Russia will not accept our proposition, either that they should limit the number of their ships, or that the Black Sea should be closed against all ships of war; and it is also believed that

Austria is not inclined to stand by us. Drouyn de l'Huys writes home that he is still confident, however, that she will act fairly; but our Government is very doubtful of this. Many people (and those well informed) suspect that France does not hold the same language to Austria as to us, and that she is quite determined to keep well with her, whatever line of conduct she may pursue. We shall not find it easy to do this. Everything, in short, looks ill for peace; and I do not see that the intention of the Emperor Napoleon to proceed to the Crimea, as soon as the Paris Exhibition is opened, will in any way advance matters. No one really knows his motive or object in making this expedition.

The Emperor has given the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour to the Duke of Cambridge, with which he is much pleased.

Monday, April 23.—The Imperials departed on Saturday morning, accompanied to Dover by the Prince and the Duke of Cambridge. The Empress and the children were dissolved in tears; the latter took a prodigious fancy to the Empress, and were never out of her room. They left 1,200*l.* for the servants, and suitable presents for the people who were appointed by the Queen to attend upon them. The Queen gave the Empress a bracelet containing her hair, and asked her to send her her picture.

Palmerston announced this afternoon that the Vienna conference was at an end, and John Russell was on his way home; that Russia had rejected any project which should limit her ships in the

Black Sea, or for closing it against all vessels of war, and had made no counter-proposition. He said nothing of the probable attitude of Austria, but no one here believes that she will draw the sword. In the meantime the accounts of the siege reach to the 17th—six days after the commencement of the bombardment—which state that though the superiority of our artillery had been proved, no great impression had as yet been made on the defences of the town.

The fact is, our position is worse than it has yet been.

April 26.—I met Clarendon in Bruton Street. He had heard nothing from the Crimea, except that the cholera had broken out at Constantinople in the French army of reserve, which he thinks may make some change in the Emperor's intended expedition to the Crimea.

He does not believe the bombardment has effected much, and appeared low as to our prospects. We were hemmed in, he said, and could not get away; and a campaign in the interior would be next to impossible for want of transport.

The telegraph is now open the whole way from Whitehall to Balaclava, and, wonderful to relate, C. Wood received a despatch from thence in twenty-four hours, and instructions have been sent to Lord Raglan to furnish daily intelligence from the seat of war.

April 28.—The Government heard officially yesterday that the Emperor Napoleon had abandoned

his projected journey to the Crimea. This change is attributed to the uncertain attitude of Austria, to the small progress made in the siege, and also to the cholera having broken out in the French army of reserve at Constantinople; and (last, though not least perhaps) it is rumoured that the state of Paris is by no means satisfactory, that a spirit of discontent is arising, and that the Emperor has rendered himself more than ever obnoxious to the enlightened men of France, by some arbitrary measures he has had recourse to regarding the 'Académie Française,' and which, notwithstanding the anxiety of the public respecting the war, have exclusively engrossed attention for the last few days. It is probable that these circumstances, in the aggregate, may have induced the Emperor to forego the execution of a much-cherished but very foolish project.

Sunday, April 29.—On going out this morning I heard two pieces of news: one, that the bombardment of Sebastopol was given up, having lasted four days and been proved to be useless; the other, that the Emperor Napoleon was shot at yesterday when riding in the Champs Elysées, but not hurt. He proceeded on his ride to join the Empress in the Bois de Boulogne, and (according to the Moniteur) was received with acclamations on his return. The man was arrested, and is an Italian.

I never remember to have seen such general depression as prevails now in London. Every one is asking what is to be the next step—how we are to get out of the *fix* in which we seem to be placed.

Walewski had told Lord Grey that John Russell was bringing over a new proposition, which he did not think would conduce to peace, but which, being suggested by Austria, would, if proposed to and rejected by Russia, serve to attach Austria more closely to the alliance. I don't think any one believes that Austria will, under any circumstances, ever draw the sword.

April 30.—A letter from Lady Holland says, 'The Emperor was shot at twice at five paces—none the worse—a miracle, for he was riding at a foot's pace, and thought the man wanted to speak to him. An Englishman collared him, but the people were furious, and would have killed him. I walked to Jérôme's in the evening. The man had a poniard in his pocket, *pour l'achever*. He is an Italian, but will not say a word. This is all that is known at present. The effect is great enthusiasm. It would have been a terrible complication at this moment. His journey to the Crimea is given up. Jérôme would not accept the regency, and told him that he was betraying France to seek for glory and personal popularity; that he (Jérôme) did not understand a despotic government, and, being aware of all that was going on around him, he felt "qu'il fallait descendre dans la rue ou succomber," and at his age he did not wish to spill blood. The ministers' entreaties and the Empress's tears at last succeeded in inducing him to give up the expedition. The effect on the army may be bad; he might have united the generals' counsels by his authority, but I believe he would

have lost his throne, for *I know* of formidable conspiracies *en haut lieu* in this country.'

John Russell attended the Cabinet to-day, and was in the House of Commons this evening. He answered an 'interpellation' from Disraeli, but said very little. 'The protocols are to be laid before Parliament shortly. Palmerston corrected a misstatement of his the other night as to any counter-proposition having been made by Russia. He said there had been one, but of such a nature as did not admit of its details being discussed by the four plenipotentiaries.

There is a droll anecdote of Salvandy and Villemain, who met at a child's ball at Paris, when the former said, 'Ah, comme j'aime à voir danser l'avenir;' to which the other replied, 'Ma foi, je préférerais bien de voir sauter le présent.'

Friday, May 4.—Clarendon said last night in the House of Lords that, although the conference was suspended, Austria still entertained hopes of peace, and that, under present circumstances, all discussion as to the ultimate intentions of Austria was much to be deprecated. Derby thought Clarendon's statement very unsatisfactory, and that we had already shown too much forbearance to the wishes of that Power, by which our military exertions had been impeded, and something definite as to intentions ought to be communicated. Lord Lansdowne said that during the time these negotiations had been pending, not a moment had been lost in the vigorous prosecution of the law.

The weather for the last six weeks has been, and now is, perfectly odious. A perpetual gale of N.E. wind is blowing, and the nights are as cold as in winter.

I saw Harry Greville[1] yesterday, just returned from the Crimea. He entertains small hope of the capture of Sebastopol, except by a campaign and subsequent investment; and he fears the former will be a tremendous affair, as the Russians have fortified every available pass, the country most difficult to manœuvre in, and our means of transport being very limited.

Monday, May 7.—Heard last night that in consequence of the Emperor of the French declining to make to Russia the last proposition suggested by Austria, Drouyn de l'Huys has resigned, and Walewski is summoned to Paris to succeed him.

I heard at dinner at Lady Palmerston's that all hope of peace is at an end, and nearly all hope of Austria doing anything for us in the field, in consequence of our declining to agree to the proposal she suggested; and it is believed here that there has been a strong difference of opinion upon the subject in our Cabinet.

The Walewskis will be a social loss, and in this respect ill-compensated for by their reputed successors, the Comte and Comtesse de Persigny.

The meeting in the City on Saturday for administrative reform was very numerously attended. Mr. Morley, a leading Dissenter, was in the chair. The

[1] His cousin, Captain Greville, R.N.

speeches, for the most part, were violent; but although 6,010*l.* were subscribed for the objects for which they are constituting committees, I don't think the effect produced by the movement is as great, as yet at least, as its originators expected.

The Moniteur of yesterday contains the report of the committee appointed to carry out the Will of the late Emperor Napoleon. It is curious (if true, as I am assured it is) that just before leaving Paris the present Emperor signed the decree (or whatever it was) ordering payment of the legacy to the heirs of the men who shot at the Duke of Wellington. It seems like retributive justice, that immediately on his return he was himself nearly falling a victim to the hand of an assassin. The apology offered for this decree is that, having determined to carry out the Will as it stood, it was impossible that any exceptions could be made in carrying out its provisions.

Wednesday, May 9.—The Moniteur of yesterday appoints Walewski Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Persigny Ambassador here. I hear that at Paris the Russian agents call the *fall* (if such it can be called) an English intrigue. Mrs. Craven, who came from Paris last night, tells me that we in England are considered there to be in a very alarming state, and on the very brink of a revolution; and that this is shown by the agitation now going on in favour of administrative reform.

Thursday, May 10.—Dined with Granville yesterday. Lady G. went to a ball at the Palace, and came

back and told us that it was said there, and believed that John Russell had again been what she called 'Faisant des Siennes;' that is, that having approved the proposition of Drouyn de l'Huys, he had considered himself bound to him to resign, as he had done, in consequence of the proposition not being accepted by the Cabinets. That Drouyn de l'Huys had written John Russell a very handsome letter begging him on no account to consider himself in any way as bound to him, and consequently, after much persuasion and long discussions in the Cabinet, John had again been what they called '*strapped down.*' Lady Granville announced this to Granville as the news of the evening, and he looked so put out that I suspect it is true. I know that this had been suspected in the Peelite camp; and Gladstone said, at a dinner at Sidney Herbert's at which my sister was present, that if the conditions proposed by Drouyn de l'Huys were such as he had reason to believe them to be, namely, that there should be no limitation to the number of Russian ships, but that the Porte should have the right by treaty to call upon the allies for aid whenever she considered herself menaced by Russia, and that France and England should each have one or two frigates in the Black Sea to watch her—Gladstone said it would be madness to reject such terms. I told this to Granville, who of course made no answer.[1]

I suspect that what I have written is a correct statement, and that there has been much difference of opinion on the subject in the Cabinet.

[1] He probably said, 'What?'—Ed.

There are many who think a crisis in the Government as imminent. Ellenborough's motion for a censure on Government for mismanagement of the war comes on on Monday, and great exertions are being made to beat the Government. I fancy they will fail in this; but if they should succeed, Derby is said to be ready to form a Government.

Friday, May 11.—Grey gave notice last night of a motion for a resolution of the House that the Russian proposals for peace ought to have been accepted. I met Lady Grey at the Ashburtons', and said, 'Grey has taken the bull by the horns.' 'Yes,' she said. 'I dare say nobody will agree with him, but it will bring on a discussion.' I think, however, that at this moment a discussion can have no good effect.

Last night I heard Verdi's last new opera, 'The Trovatore.' It has some good things in it, and the last act is very striking, but as a whole it is very tedious. Viardot and Ney, who sang the two women's parts, are awful specimens of the female sex, and the former has no voice at all.

Saturday, May 12.—Last night Palmerston took the opportunity afforded by a question from Major Reid to give a full explanation of the improvements about to be made in the different departments connected with the war. The House was evidently taken by surprise by this important speech, which will, I suspect, mar the effect hoped for by Ellenborough and Layard by their respective motions. Disraeli answered Palmerston, and tried to *laugh* off his evident vexation

at the latter having stolen a march over himself and the Opposition tactics.

The weather continues to be cold beyond all precedent.

Tuesday, May 15.—Government had a large majority last night on Ellenborough's motion. Content present *71*; Non-content *115*; Proxies *66*. Proxies were not called for the contents. The debate was very flat, Ellenborough particularly so, and was well answered by Panmure, and Granville distinguished himself. Lord Lyndhurst had intended to speak, but said *he had no desire to address the casino*, meaning the ladies, who were there in immense crowds. Derby praised Raglan, and said that all blame was to be thrown on the Government, which of course brought up the *doubtful* voters—such as Cadogan, who had two proxies, and others.

Wednesday, May 16.—A *déjeuner d'adieu* was given at Willis's Rooms yesterday by the Corps Diplomatique to the Walewskis, and she had a reception in the evening, previously to leaving London this morning. She is very much regretted and very deservedly so by the London world, for no one could be more civil, well-bred, and *aimable*.

I heard to-night with great regret of the almost sudden death of De Mauley. He had had gout and other things for some time past, but no danger was apprehended. He was a cultivated man and a perfect gentleman, and is one of the people I remember longest as an *habitué* of my father's house.

May 18.—To-day the Queen distributed in person

the Crimean medals to the officers and men entitled to receive them, on the esplanade in St. James's Park. I did not go, but it is said to have been a fine and affecting spectacle. She was on a sort of daïs, surrounded by her ministers and attendants, and the esplanade was enclosed and encircled by scaffolding containing seats for the Houses of Parliament and other persons admitted by tickets. The officers and men passed by the Queen, and she gave the medal to each person with her own hand, and often spoke to the wounded men as they went by. Sir Thomas Troubridge, who has lost both his feet, was wheeled by in a chair. He has been appointed aide-de-camp to the Queen.

I went in the evening to a concert at B. Palace; as usual, a very dull affair.

May 19.—An immensely full and tedious drawing-room for the Queen's birthday; a dinner at Lord Breadalbane's—very handsome, but excessively long and tiresome. How I detest all this sort of thing!

Canrobert has resigned his command, and Pélissier is appointed to succeed him. This was known by a telegraphic despatch from Canrobert to the French Minister of War, stating that his shattered health disabled him from undertaking so grave a responsibility as the chief command, desiring that Pélissier should be named his successor, and that he might be allowed to act under him as general of division. To this the Emperor replied by another telegraphic message that he accepted his resignation, that his devotion to the service is worthy of all

praise; and he gives him the command of Pélissier's corps, and orders him to hand over the supreme command to the latter. Kielmansegge tells me that the bad health of Canrobert is a mere pretext, and that this affair had long been determined upon. The change will perhaps be for the better, as Pélissier has energy and decision, in which Canrobert is very deficient.

Monday, May 21.—A letter from Algy Egerton from the Crimea speaks of the great surprise, disgust, and indignation which had been occasioned there by the sudden recall of the expedition to Kertch, just when within two hours of the place. No one knew why, but the belief *there* was that the Emperor Napoleon had ordered the return by telegraph from Paris! It was the more provoking because the expedition had been prepared and carried out with great secrecy, and there seemed to be no reasonable doubt of its success. It was intended that the army (10,000 men) should attack the place in rear, whilst the steamers forced the passage. This business has created profound disgust amongst the officers on the spot, who justly think that a man sitting in his chair at the Tuileries is not the best judge of operations to be conducted 4,000 miles off.

May 22.—Last night, when every one was on the tiptoe of expectation, the House of Commons crowded to excess to hear the debate on Milner Gibson's motion, Sidney Herbert got up and asked Palmerston whether or no he considered the conferences at Vienna as entirely

closed, and all means of accommodation exhausted; and declared that on his reply would depend the course he and some other members would take. Palmerston answered that the Government did *not* consider all modes of solution of the question exhausted; and that, if any proposition came from Austria, her Majesty's Government would feel it to be their duty to give it their most favourable consideration. Upon this Gladstone put it to Milner Gibson whether he did not think it would be desirable to withdraw his motion, and to leave the matter for the present in the hands of the Government. Lord Harry Vane,[1] who was to second M. Gibson's motion, also recommended the same course; and Sidney Herbert announced that if M. Gibson persisted in his motion, he should move the previous question. Disraeli then got up and spoke very angrily, and accused the Government of a manœuvre, which Palmerston of course indignantly denied; and John Russell explained what had taken place at the last conference; and after a remonstrance from Roebuck, and a short speech from Bright, M. Gibson withdrew his motion—luckily and wisely, as most people think, for the interests of the nation, but unfortunately, as others consider it, for the Government, who, as Roebuck said, are accused of being at issue amongst themselves on the question of continuing the war or making peace. I believe that, notwithstanding the outcry against this supposed manœuvre in order to conceal from the world the division in the Cabinet,

[1] Present Duke of Cleveland (1884).—Ed.

and for which I do not believe there is any foundation, it is very fortunate that the debate on Milner Gibson's motion did not take place.

Montalembert, the French orator, was in the House. He thought P.'s speaking very bad, Bright the best of those he heard, G. too much like a preacher.

May 23.—Disraeli has concocted with Roebuck and Layard a resolution which, if carried, would amount to a vote of want of confidence. It will not pass, although the whole Derbyite party is sure to vote with him.

A letter from Lady Holland speaks of great uneasiness prevailing in the public mind at Paris. The fear of an internal convulsion is rife, and the secret societies are more organised and audacious than ever. It is thought that a great military success would be of great use at this moment, and that under Pélissier, who is supposed to be full of courage and energy, this is not improbable. It is said that Canrobert's fear of responsibility was the cause of the recall of the expedition to Kertch, which has produced the most deplorable effect on the army; and that, considering the order of the Emperor Napoleon to be imperative, he had not ventured to disobey it, although he might have reflected that, however peremptory it may have been, the Emperor, when he issued the order, could not have known that the expedition had sailed, and therefore Canrobert might very well have used his own discretion.

Saturday, May 26.—The debate on Disraeli's motion of censure was adjourned on Thursday night

until Friday, when it was lost by a majority of 100. Gladstone made one of his splendid orations in favour of a more peaceable amendment of Heathcote's, and it is believed that the peace party is rather gaining strength in the House of Commons. Disraeli was, as usual, sarcastic, even coarse, in his abuse of John Russell. The latter spoke very well. There had been a meeting in the morning at Palmerston's, which, on the whole, and although attended by Layard and Bright, went off harmoniously. The former, strange to say, declared he should vote with the Government. After the first division Baring's amendment was put, and Lowe's amendment to it was moved, and the debate was again adjourned until after the holidays, on Monday week. Never was there such confusion of motions and amendments. The Government is extremely perplexed to know what course to take, as they agree with *half* the amendment, which merely states a matter of fact, but to carry out which would be an interference with the Queen's prerogative; and they differ entirely from the other half. They hope in the interval to find some means of escape from this dilemma. In the meantime a majority of 100 against the Derbyites gives strength to the Government.

The French have had a success on a considerable scale under Pélissier, and the expedition to Kertch has again sailed.

Burwood, May 29.—Came here yesterday. Before leaving London the news of the complete success of the expedition to Kertch had arrived, and of other successes in the Crimea.

The cold is positively intense for the time of year. Bad as our springs generally are, I never recollect one *so* bad as this.

May 30.—I heard to-day with great regret of the death of Granville Fullerton. He was a particularly pleasing youth, and is deservedly regretted by all who knew him.

The weather continues to be atrocious.

June 8.—The debate on the various amendments to Disraeli's resolution has continued the whole week, and is not yet brought to a close. The speaking of the peace party has been remarkable good. But I fear the discussion at this moment is not only useless, but mischievous.

June 12.—The debate on Disraeli's motion ended on Friday night by Heathcote and Lowe withdrawing their amendments, and that of Baring passing without a division—the best solution. Palmerston spoke better than usual.

On Saturday the news came of the capture of the *Mamelon*, the white work and the quarries—a very important and brilliant feat of arms, but which I fear will have cost dear. On Sunday we heard that the fleet in the Sea of Azoff had destroyed the arsenals and provisions at Marianople, Taganrog, and Kertch, without any loss on our side.[1] These places were hardly defended at all, and the few troops there were, fled on the approach of the allies, having first burnt the stores and spiked the guns.

Holland House, June 29.—Here is a large gap—although if I had not been lazy, there has been plenty

to write about. The chief event, however, has been the attack on the Malakhoff Tower, and its failure with considerable loss.

Charles, who is at Paris, dined with the Emperor on Tuesday, his Majesty having expressed his wish to see him *en petit comité*. He spoke unreservedly to him on various matters, and more particularly on the present conduct of the war, of which he entirely disapproves, and especially of the attack on the Malakhoff. I believe, too, that Lord Raglan wished to attack the army in the field, but Pélissier insisted on the other course.

He (Pélissier) is said to be very brutal, and regardless of the loss of lives; above all (and in this he is wise), he objects to any interference from home with his strategic movements, and it is said (though, I dare say, without truth) that he sent a telegraphic message to this effect, '*Ne m'envoyez plus de Télégraphes. Cela m'embête.*' Another event which occupies public attention is the bankruptcy of Paul and Strahan, a terrible affair, by which a vast amount of ruin has fallen upon individuals (many in society) and on public institutions—amongst the latter the Convalescent Hospital at Walton, in which Ellesmere takes an interest, and for which an amateur play is getting up.

On Wednesday I was at a party given by the Duchess of Cambridge to the Queen, where I heard that Captain Lyons, who conducted the expedition to Kertch with so much credit, and of whom a very high opinion was entertained by the whole navy, has died

of a wound he received on the 18th (as it is supposed) off Sebastopol. The cholera is very bad in the camp. General Estcourt, Adjutant-General of the army, had died of it.

Brougham dined here yesterday. Apropos of Sydney Smith's memoirs lately published by his daughter, he said that neither Lord Grey nor Lord Melbourne deemed it possible to make him a bishop. Brougham had frequently discussed it with them, and they all three came to the same conclusion.

June 30.—Reports were rife yesterday that Lord Raglan had been obliged, in consequence of dysentery and bad health, to resign his command. There is no doubt. I fear, that he has been very ill, but the Globe of last night contradicts the report that he is coming home. A letter from Charles from Paris says, 'It is impossible to be more civil and gracious than the Emperor was to me, and he has certainly made a very agreeable impression upon me. He is, above all, so natural and so simple—very gentlemanlike, and so easy himself, and puts you as much at ease as if he were your equal. He talked to me after dinner for an hour and a half at least, on 100 different subjects, people, and things. I fully understand the impression he gave the Queen of being frank and true, it is just what he gave me; and moreover that when he is intimate, instead of being reserved, that he has great *abandon*. Of course, any opinion formed in such a way, and in one interview, is not worth much, but I give you mine, and I understand the success he has with those who approach him.' *Enfin qui vivra, verra!*

On going to Bridgewater House this morning I heard the sad news of Raglan's death had reached the Queen at twelve o'clock. He had been supposed to be recovering, when on Thursday last alarming symptoms had suddenly come on, and he rapidly sank at nine on that evening.

Hatchford, July 23.—Three weeks have elapsed since I have written anything, but not for want of matter. My time has been much occupied in assisting to get up an amateur theatrical performance at Bridgewater House for the benefit of the Convalescent Hospital at Walton, the funds of which have been swallowed up in the Paul & Strahan bankruptcy. The performance consisted of a charade, a French piece acted very well by Mr. and Mrs. Craven and Edward Sartoris, and an English play by Tom Taylor called 'The Late Lamented.' Miss Thelluson spoke a prologue and epilogue, written by Lady Dufferin and by Ellesmere. It went off very well, and there was a receipt of about 800*l.*

This business has prevented my recording matters of interest that have occurred and occupied public attention.

It was determined that poor Raglan's remains should be sent home in the 'Caradoc' for interment at Badminton, and they are daily expected to arrive, attended by his four aides-de-camp. His death appears to have afflicted the army greatly, and the 'order of the day,' published by Pélissier, is very admirable. The press has, in general, done him justice, though tardily, and the Queen and Parlia-

ment have testified, by all means in their power, their sense of his services.

The great subject of interest and excitement has been the resignation of John Russell. This has been brought about by the force of public opinion, strongly expressed in Parliament and by the press, against the part taken by John Russell on the last Austrian proposition made in the Vienna conference, and which he undertook to advocate in the English Cabinet. A paper or despatch written by Buol, and published in the newspapers, stating this fact, a question was put to John Russell in the House of Commons as to the correctness of this statement, to which he replied in the affirmative.

As this acknowledgment of his opinion as to the propriety of entertaining this Austrian proposition did not seem to tally with a speech delivered by him soon after his return from Vienna, of a very warlike tone, and as the whole proceeding left a doubt in the public mind as to what his views really were, now, on the great question of peace and war, a storm arose both in and out of Parliament, which John's statement, very lame and unsatisfactory as it was, failed to appease, and it became evident that either he must retire, or that the Government must be broken up. Indeed, several members of the Government (not in the Cabinet) openly declared that, rather than vote against Roebuck's motion bearing on this subject, they would resign their offices; and Bouverie (Vice-President of Board of Trade) took upon himself to lay the case before John Russell.

The result was that on Thursday week he resigned. He has been assailed by a storm of abuse from the whole press, and the Times in particular, but I think he has met with more than his share of obloquy. That he mismanaged matters at Vienna there can be no doubt, and that he made his own case worse by his manner of stating it is equally certain; but that he had any intention of misleading the public as to his real views, I do not believe.

Roebuck's motion on the Sebastopol committee has been discussed during the last week, and on this occasion John Russell made an excellent speech, which was very well received by the House, and has gone some way towards reinstating him in public opinion. Government expected a close division, but ended in having a majority of 107. They have since had a narrow escape of a defeat on a very important subject—the Turkish loan—carrying the first reading by three votes only.

The House of Commons is in a very unruly and disorganised state, which adds very materially to the difficulties of the Government.

For the last three Sundays the town of London has been disturbed by riots in Hyde Park, and the streets by mobs of people who are hostile to Robert Grosvenor's Sunday Trading Bill. The police have been found fault with for over zeal in their endeavours to suppress these disturbances; and the House of Commons having interfered, Sir George Grey has appointed a Commission of Enquiry into their conduct. As R. Grosvenor withdraws his Bill, there

was in fact not a shadow of excuse for any disturbance after the first Sunday.

Hatchford, Sunday, July 29.—Came here yesterday with the Sydneys on a visit to my mother.

Gladstone's line on the Turkish loan and his bitterness against the Government have been the theme of conversation during the past week. After taking them by surprise and beating them on the first reading, the Bill was allowed to pass, but not without some very bitter speeches; and I think Gladstone and Co. may now be considered as being in decided opposition. One does not quite foresee what will be their *avenir*, for the breach between them and the Whigs is very wide, and the Derbyites hate them with intensity, while they are too weak to form a party of their own.

Palmerston hitherto has not shown the tact and skill in leading the House of Commons that was expected, and has but small influence in that unruly assembly.

I dined at Apsley House on Friday. The house is altered and improved, but the dining and drawing rooms are as before, and I missed the venerable form with which that house is entirely associated in my mind and memory. The dinner was for the Pensignys, who are underbred and rather ridiculous people. He bears a good character for honesty, and is attached to the English alliance. I sat next to the Duchess by chance. She is attractive from her great beauty and total absence of affectation.

Wednesday, August 1.—The Queen went yesterday

to the launch of the 'Marlborough' at Portsmouth. She is the largest ship that has ever been built. The ceremony failed, owing to the ship, for some unexplained reason, not slipping from her hold into the sea; she was ultimately launched in the course of the night by the aid of 2,000 workmen.

Her Majesty's journey to Paris stands as at present fixed for the 17th, and the most extraordinary preparations are making there for her reception.

Mrs. Craven told me last night that she had sat the night before, at dinner at the Granvilles, next to Colonel Fleury, who is the Emperor's first equerry. She had not known him before, but he spoke very openly to her of passing events; and as he is one of the Emperor's *âmes damnées*, what he says may have some weight. He told her he had said to Palmerston, that if once we could take the Malakhoff, we should then give up the idea of taking Sebastopol, and 'faire la paix à tout prix, car, voyez-vous, les soldats n'en veulent plus, et quand c'est comme cela, il ne faut pas perdre le temps d'en finir.' This is, *selon moi*, rather curious.

Thursday, August 2.—Yesterday Canning was sworn in Governor-General of India. In the evening he dined with the East India Company, and his speech was considered on all hands as excellent; full of thought and sound sense, conveyed in excellent language, and a good delivery, and he appeared to be quite unembarrassed in his manner, which hitherto has not been the case when he has spoken in public.

Eastwick, one of the directors, told Cowper that the speech Canning made in the morning was, if possible, still better, and the directors are greatly pleased with his appointment. This good start delights me, and I am more than ever convinced that he will fulfil all the expectations of his friends as to his future career in India.

Hatchford, Saturday, August 4.—The House of Commons was engaged last night in another discussion on the Vienna conferences, on a motion of Mr. Laing for producing the correspondence which has passed between the French and English Governments. On this occasion Gladstone made a long speech, vehemently accusing the Government, and Clarendon in particular, of having raised every obstacle to peace by the tenor of his despatches, and declaring that the whole responsibility of the rejection of the Austrian proposals rested upon them, and that they could never get over the fact that all the plenipotentaries at Vienna had adopted the principle of counterpoise, and that the Government, by rejecting this golden opportunity of making peace, *were continuing the war on paltry differences.* After proceeding to paint the situation of the allies in very unfavourable colours, and the enthusiasm of the Russian nation in fighting the hereditary enemies of their religion and the invaders of their soil, in warm terms, and defying the Western Powers to control her future destinies except for a moment, Gladstone endeavoured to justify his own course, and said that in attempting to recall the Govern-

ment from the course of policy they were now pursuing, he believed he was discharging his duty as a patriot and faithful representative of the people, and a loyal subject to the Queen.

This speech, though full of eloquence, will have no other effect but that of calling down on Gladstone's head the most virulent abuse, and *perhaps* that of making Russia more obstinate in her determination not to give in, and will therefore not serve the cause which I fully believe Gladstone is sincere in advocating.

London, August 8.—John Russell having given notice that he intended to call the attention of the House of Commons to the state of the war, and to Italian affairs, made his speech last night. He disclaimed all desire of aggravating or diminishing the responsibility of Government, but said it would be well to keep in mind what were the objects of the war, and that the proposal of Austria had been considered entirely satisfactory by the representative of Turkey; and that if the Ottoman Government were of opinion that terms of peace had been proposed which afforded sufficient security, and that the war was still to be carried on not for the security of Turkey, but merely for the maintenance of the military reputation of England and France, the position of these two countries would be very much changed, and we must then subsidise Turkey. He expressed great confidence in the good faith and prudence of the Emperor of the French, and he was disposed to pay great deference to any opinion

of his as to negotiations for peace; and he hoped that if any opportunity should occur for making a safe and honourable peace, the war would not be prolonged. He then alluded to the deplorable state of Italy, and to the disturbance of the balance of power caused by the occupation of the States of the Church by the troops of Austria and France; and he thought some means should be devised, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, for adopting a system of Governments which should admit of his troops being withdrawn from Rome. This speech had a good deal of sense in it, but it is difficult to see of what possible use it could be at this moment. John Russell is therefore bitterly assailed by the Times for this discourse, which is described as another proof of his 'blundering statesmanship.' Palmerston answered him very discreetly.

Frognal, Tuesday, August 14.—I came here on Saturday. The Flahaults, Canning, Sneyd, and Norman Macdonald joined us yesterday. Canning came from Osborne, where the council for the Queen's speech had been held in the morning.

William Cowper succeeds Sir Benjamin Hall at the Board of Health, and in his turn is succeeded by a Mr. Massey, M.P. for Newport—a new man. There is a cry just now in favour of infusing new blood into official life.

August 15.—We heard this morning of the successful attack on Sveaborg. This feat was accomplished cleverly, and with next to no loss on our side, by gun and mortar boats.

Claremont, who was English commissioner at the French head-quarters in the Crimea, and just returned from thence, came here yesterday. I asked him if he thought we should get into the Malakhoff. He answered, 'We may;' but he does not appear at all sanguine, and said that if we succeed in doing so, it will by no means be the same thing as if we had taken it on the 18th, for the Russians have raised gigantic works behind the tower.

Holland House, August 17.—Came here to-day from Frognal. In passing through London I saw Lady Granville, who told me that news of a battle *en pleine campagne* might be expected hourly. Just afterwards Holland told me the Russians had attacked the French and Sardinians on the Tschernaya, and had been repulsed with great loss. This news came by telegraph from Varna, dated the 16th.

Rémusat dined here to-day. In speaking of Louis Philippe's sons, he said the Duke of Orleans was by far the most remarkable. 'Je crois,' he added, 'l'homme le plus distingué que j'ai connu.' He had a great deference for his father, although he differed from him on many and important subjects. His brothers had quite a *culte* for him, and even now always speak of him with the greatest veneration. I asked him if he was not rather *false*. 'Non,' he replied, 'il était surtout habile, et sa position exigeait une grande réserve.' His wife, he said, though he was fond of her, had no influence over him. He had a great idea of the part he would be called upon to play hereafter, and constantly said, when speaking

of his brothers, 'Ils me seront tous nécessaires, car la tâche sera lourde.' Rémusat is a clever man, but his *façons* are not very agreeable, and his appearance is vulgar, which, however, has been no obstacle to his success of a certain description.

Hatchford, August 20.—Came here on Saturday. Simpson announces by telegraph that he and Pélissier have determined to reopen the fire on the Malakhoff on the dawn of the 17th.

Tuesday, August 21.—The Queen made her solemn entry into Paris on Saturday. She was well received, and nothing could surpass the magnificence of the preparations made to welcome her. Owing to her disembarkation taking place nearly two hours after the appointed time, she did not reach Paris until seven o'clock, so that her passage through the city to St. Cloud was in a great measure effected in the dark. Lady Essex writes me word that the beauty of the town on that day was magical, and the curiosity of the immense multitude who filled the line of procession to see the Queen was intense; and had she come when she had been expected, her reception would have been most enthusiastic, but the long delay, and the darkness which prevented their seeing the Queen, cooled their ardour.

No news of the bombardment. A council of war is sitting in London, and is to continue doing so during the recess.

August 22.—A letter to Charles from Princess Lieven, giving an account of the Queen's entry, confirms that of Lady Essex in every respect. Clarendon

writes to Palmerston a more glowing description, and says Marshal Magnan, who had seen Paris in all its phases for the last fifty years, told him that no such enthusiasm had ever been exhibited—not even on the entry of Napoleon after Austerlitz. There is no doubt that on the first day much disappointment was felt at her Majesty's late arrival, but she has since showed herself everywhere, and has invariably been well received.

The Dukes of Somerset and Manchester are dead.

August 29.—Went up to town for a night—called on Lady Granville, just returned from Paris. She was present at the state visit of the Queen to the Opera, and says nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and the magnificence of *everything*. The streets through which she passed were a blaze of light, and the vast crowd civil and orderly.

Madame de Lieven writes that the Queen has made a most favourable impression—'radieuse' and 'gracieuse' are her words. The *fête* at Versailles appears to have surpassed in splendour every other thing of the sort which has taken place in Paris or elsewhere.

The departure was conducted with even more pomp than the entry, all the state equipages being used, and an immense display of troops. The crowd was immense, and the cheering cordial, spontaneous, and unanimous. The Emperor accompanied the Queen to Boulogne, where they reviewed the army of the north, and after dinner H.I.M. accompanied his guest on the yacht some way out to sea.

During her stay at Paris, the Queen, with Prince Albert and the Princess Royal, went out in a *remise* all over the streets, Jardin des Plantes, &c. They got into this hired vehicle at the garden gate of the embassy, and were not recognised by any one.[1] Her Majesty enjoyed this excursion greatly, and (it is said) has preserved the ticket of the coachman as a souvenir of the exploit.

After the great review on Friday, the Queen went to the Hôtel des Invalides to visit Napoleon's tomb; she also proceeded to Neuilly, to see the spot on which the Duke of Orleans met his death. These two sights were calculated to awaken in her, deep and varied feelings.

August 30.—Charles sends me a letter from Madame de Lieven, who writes, 'Voilà la Reine partie,—le séjour fini et admirablement. Vous en saurez tous les détails par les revenans à Londres; ce qu'ils ne vous diront pas aussi bien que moi, c'est l'excellente impression qu'elle a laissée. On l'a trouvée charmante, digne, gracieuse; surtout digne et grande Reine. C'est une opinion générale, et vous pouvez compter que je ne flatte pas. Lord Clarendon est venu me voir. Il a été fort poli et aimable. Nous n'avons parlé que de la circonstance. Je ne l'ai pas gêné en entamant des sujets plus graves et plus délicats. J'ai été sensible à son procédé de politesse. Je sais gré à tout Anglais qui veut bien se rappeler que je ne puis jamais être une étrangère

[1] This incident is mentioned in the Queen's journals. I rather think that there are some inaccuracies in my uncle's account.—Ed.

pour l'Angleterre, en dépit des tristes temps où nous vivons. On ne parle plus de la Crimée du tout. Je vous assure que tout Paris a été absorbé par la Reine. A Versailles, dans le Palais du Grand Roi, le jour même de sa Fête, le 25, la Saint Louis, la Reine de la Grande-Bretagne, reçue et fêtée par Napoléon III. et devant le tombeau de Napoléon Premier, la Reine entendant l'orgue de l'Eglise jouant le "God save the Queen! n'est-ce pas de la Fable?"'

I have a letter from Lady Holland, who says, 'The town of Paris has been dressed like a royal fair. Crowds innumerable, weather lovely, the whole thing like a dream. Except the arrival, and *quand même*, her visit has had complete success. The "Public Français" has been flattered. Even antagonists allow it, and the acclamations on her departure were hearty and deafening. The Versailles *fête*, they say, cost 20,000*l.*; and I believe there were weak points—*dreadful canaille*—no pretty women—the supper rather a confusion, ladies of dubious character getting places first; but on the whole it has gone off better than any one expected.'

Paris, 27 Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, Monday, September 3.—Left Hatchford on Friday; crossed over to Calais on that night in company with the Sydneys and Canning, having dined at the Ship Inn at Dover—a disagreeable passage of two hours; in bed at two, and up at six, to be off by the 7.45 train; reached Paris at five, and found the kind Hollands waiting for me at the station. I have been

in bed nearly ever since I came, with lumbago and a bad eye. Granvilles, Bruces, Wellingtons, Elys, and others are here.

The curious *tournure* and general effect of Mrs. —— excites the hilarity of the Parisians, and in the Exhibition and in the streets they crowd round her, and exclaim, 'Ah regardez donc, quel carnaval! Quatorze mètres au moins,—et puis, maigre comme un coucou. Cette figure! regardez donc.' All this in the innocence of her heart she takes for admiration!

Wednesday, September 5.—Last night I went to see the Italian actress Ristori in Alfieri's play of 'Mirrha,' and was immensely struck with her. She does not appear to be very young, and is very thin; but her face is beautiful, full of expression. Her figure is tall, and every gesture and movement are full of grace; and she has a voice capable of the most varied inflection, and of a sweet and soft tone. Her acting of the dreadful part of Mirrha is entirely perfect. In the first place she looks the character exactly, and she manages to be both impassioned and decent in her delineation of it; and above all, though the whole play turns on the one sentiment, she is never monotonous. People of course compare her to Rachel, but no two actresses can be more unlike each other. Ristori has more charm—more tenderness, more grace, and is more natural. She has perhaps less power, less *mordant* than Rachel, but I doubt if any one could act Mirrha more finely. The house was full, and the audience (nearly every one of whom was furnished with a

book) was enthusiastic. I followed the play very well, and heard all Ristori said without any difficulty.

Friday, September 6.—Yesterday, Ellesmere, Blanche, Arthur, and the G. Byngs came. Ellesmere, Alice and I went to see Ristori in 'Maria Stuarda.' I was enchanted, and think her acting of this part more true to nature, more refined, and more feminine than that of Rachel. She is never violent, but always effective; above all, she is distinguished and graceful. Ellesmere was delighted, as were the whole audience, who called on her repeatedly. Her portrait was selling in the theatre, and her bust was in the corridor. In short, she is the 'fureur du jour.'

Nothing new from the seat of war, but we are told we may expect to hear of an attack about the 9th. In the meanwhile the casualties in the trenches are very heavy.

The *sobriquet* of 'Wise men of the East' is given to the officers who come home from the Crimea.

Madame le Roux (a lady I met at Holland House, and mother to the Princesse Roger de Bauffremont), lately married to a Marquis de Latour d'Auvergne, having taken the title of Duchesse de Bouillon without much claim to it, she is called 'Bouillon, peu clair,' which is droll.

Sunday, September 9.—Last night, when I was at the Vaudeville (to see the 'Dame aux Camélias'), an officer of the Imperial Guard came and sat in the stall next to Arthur Egerton, and told us that the Emperor had been shot at, just before, at the door of the Italian Opera House, when proceeding to see Ristori

in 'Maria Stuarda,' the representation having been commanded by H.M. The man is a Frenchman, Dieudonné Bellemare, or some such name. He was arrested by one of the Imperial Guard after having fired two shots, one at the first carriage, in which three of the Empress's ladies were seated, and the other at the second carriage, in which was the Emperor. The Moniteur of this morning treats the affair very lightly, and speaks of the man as rather a maniac than an assassin. Mr. Tansky (a Pole, and hanger-on of Walewski), who has a sort of nondescript position here, and seems to be mixed up in all sorts of things with all sorts of people, called here this morning, and said there was decidedly a 'Banda' and that one of the balls had lodged in the cushion of the carriage.

It is curious, in the midst of all the 'bosh' one hears of the affection growing up between the two nations, to observe that, notwithstanding this sentiment, people of all hues of politics openly profess their opinion that the Anglo-French alliance depends entirely upon the life of the Emperor; and that were anything to happen to him, the whole edifice would crumble at once. I am entirely of this opinion, and see constantly confirmation of it in my intercourse with people here.

Called on Madame de Lieven. She is little changed since 1848, when I last saw her. I found her very fair and moderate in her conversation on passing events.

I have seen the two pieces now in vogue, 'La Dame

aux Camélias' and 'Les Filles de Marbre.' In the first the lady dies for love of the man; in the other, the man for the lady. Both are extremely tiresome, though admirably acted by Madame Fargueil and Fechter.

The news from Sebastopol is encouraging. The Russian ships have been burnt, and Gortchakoff reports to his Government that '*les fortifications souffrent.*'

Monday, September 10.—This morning at seven o'clock, when in bed, Lady Holland came and told me that the Malakhoff had been taken by the French with heavy loss on their side; that the English had, '*avec leur vigueur ordinaire*,' attacked the Redan, but had been driven out by the artillery of the enemy, as also had General Lassalle been repulsed in his attack on the '*Bastion du Centre.*'

At ten o'clock Mr. Tansky and Mr. Binda came straight from Walewski with the news that the Russians had evacuated the southern part of Sebastopol, sunk their steamers, and retired to the north, having burnt their bridge of communication. Pélissier says in the telegraphic despatch that the town is '*un vaste incendie*,' and he only defers entering it until the mines shall have exploded. He finishes his despatch thus:—'*Nous veillerons sur la Tchernaya.*'

This was of course great news, and the despatch was posted all over Paris, and read with avidity by vast crowds of people. The Bureau of the Patrie, on the Boulevards, was besieged by eager purchasers. The guns fired, and the town was illuminated. The

carnage must, I fear, have been terrible, and the French (this, however, is a minor consideration) will be sure to arrogate to themselves the whole glory of the capture of Sebastopol, since they succeeded on the Malakhoff, which is the key of the position, whilst we failed on the Redan. M. and Madame Thiers, Mr. Cousin, and Lord and Lady Grey dined here. Thiers was in high glee, and said it was long since 'il avait éprouvé une joie pareille.' He thinks the Russians will not attack us again, but retire into the interior, and that we should do very unwisely to follow them.

Thursday, September 13.—The excitement here is very great. The despatches from the Crimea come in quick succession, and are read with great eagerness by the populace. One from Pélissier received last night states that he had visited the town, and an immense amount of *matériel de guerre* had been found. The loss of the French had been immense; five generals were killed, and several wounded.

I called at the Embassy yesterday morning, and found the Cowleys just come in from Chantilly to get the list of our casualties. He read it to us, and it was a great relief to find no name that personally touched me.

To-day the Emperor assisted at a Te Deum at Notre Dame. He went in great state, Prince Jérôme in the carriage with him. All Paris is on foot. The theatres are opened gratis, and the town is again to be illuminated to-night. The general feeling here as to the future appears to be that no negotiations for

peace can be entered upon so long as the Russians hold the northern forts. I perceive that this is also the language of the Times and English Press in general.

Pélissier is made Maréchal de France. Canrobert, it is said, declined this honour. Bellemare, who shot at the Emperor the other night, is declared to be insane, and is to be shut up, without any trial.

Friday, September 14.—Called on Madame de Gontaut, whom I regretted to find much changed in all ways since I last saw her, particularly in memory. Then upon Madame de Lieven, who had heard nothing, but seemed to think that peace would be less likely now than ever. I found an ex-Hospodar of Wallachia sitting with her—a grim, silent personage, but of whom she speedily got rid in a summary and characteristic manner. She told me that all the members of the Corps Diplomatique had attended the Te Deum with the exception of six—Denmark, Sweden, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and Belgium. The Emperor, on arriving, scanned the diplomatic tribune with a very inquiring eye. Prussia went because she had been a party to some of the first protocols; Naples (to the last degree hostile to the Western Powers) was there from cowardice.

The Nuncio, Monsignore Sacchini, paid a visit here to-night. He is a very jolly priest, and seems a sharp fellow. He spoke very openly of Italian politics, and said he was quite aware that the *idée fixe* of the Emperor Napoleon was the confederation of Italy; that the Pope would not be averse to it. 'Because,' said Holland, 'I suppose he would expect

to be placed at the head of it.' 'No,' replied the Nuncio, 'he would be quite content *di ripiccolirsi*, and to give up a part of his States, provided he were allowed to retain a really independent temporal sovereignty.' I was surprised at his saying this so openly and with so much apparent conviction. He spoke of the King of Sardinia with great bitterness, and said if a revolution were to occur in Italy he was persuaded that many heads would fall, but that the King of Sardinia would be the first to suffer. He told us with considerable zest some rather loose anecdotes of his Majesty. But the King and his Government have, by their liberal measures and resistance in Church matters, made themselves so obnoxious to the Papal Government, that everything the Nuncio said must be taken *cum grano*.

Saturday, September 15.—Unwell, and unable to go out. Prince Jérôme called on the Hollands today. He told them that the Emperor had been vexed at Prince Napoleon's incog. journey to England, as he had wished him to pay an official visit to the Queen. He had been the round of our ports, and was much pleased with all the attentions paid to him.

Thursday, September 20.—Letters from the Crimea state that the allies have found an enormous amount of *matériel de guerre* in Sebastopol, and every means of rendering the place fit for the occupation of the allies during the winter. Nothing has transpired as to the intentions of the Russians.

Claremont, who has been appointed English military Commissioner at Paris, tells me he believes their

present military position to be impregnable, as we also are in our position, and that we can afford to play a waiting game better than they can, owing to the difficulty they will have in feeding their troops. It has been suggested by some people that we should now evacuate the Crimea and go to Georgia, but Claremont says it would take six months at least to re-embark the army, and that until peace be made we must stay where we are. Peace! In England the Press is more warlike than ever. It is clear that Russia could only sue for peace on terms which would be humiliating; and at this moment, unless the Emperor Napoleon be resolved on making peace, *we* should accept no other terms. *This* is the question. There can be no doubt that, were his own position safe, and the French were like other people, peace would be his obvious policy now that his arms are crowned with success, and a return to the pacific system of government with which he inaugurated his reign. But no one that I meet here believes that it is his policy or his intention to make peace. Madame de Lieven tells me the same. She would be inclined to believe that he would prefer peace to war, but that every one she sees tells her the contrary. 'Du reste,' she said, 'personne ne connaît le fond de sa pensée, pas même ses ministres.' Whatever his *pensée* may be, it is clear by that we must be guided and abide. This is the truth, and by no means a pleasant one.

Madame de Lieven is certainly the most original woman *I* ever met with—eminently agreeable, and

with a quickness of intelligence and (when her passions are not *en jeu*) a 'justesse d'appréciation' which give to her conversation a charm that is quite indescribable. I am in favour just now—*dans la disette générale de la saison.*

She has a high opinion of Charles—of his intelligence and impartiality.

'Charles Greville,' she said, 'est Charles Greville—seul de son espèce; mais savez-vous,' she added, 'que vous êtes charmant aussi? C'est une immense chose pour moi qu'il y ait deux Grevilles.'

I was hardly prepared for this little *épanchement.*

I went last night with the F. Levesons and Claremont to the Théâtre Français to see Mademoiselle Plessy in the 'Tartufe,' and a pretty *Proverbe* called 'La Ligne droite.' She is affected, but acted charmingly in the last piece. The weather is delightful—very hot, with warm and dry nights.

Friday, September 21.—Yesterday afternoon, on returning from inquiring after Alfred Potocki, I found him waiting for me here, unchanged and as pleasant as ever. We had some talk on passing events, and I was, as usual, struck by his clear and just appreciation and discernment. He thinks we can do no great harm to Russia. We may take and perhaps occupy the Crimea, but *voilà tout.* As yet she has suffered but little in her commerce, and will always find '*Débouchés*' by Austria and Prussia. He says the hatred between Austria and Russia knows no bounds. There is not a Russian who does not believe that the Austrian army in the Principalities is the

real cause of the fall of Sebastopol. He is persuaded Russia will never consent to bind herself not to rebuild her fleet and Sebastopol; that we may take the present destruction of both as *un fait accompli*, and make peace on some other conditions; and we might rest assured that if we were resolved to blow up the coals and *mettre feu à l'Europe*, we should all suffer from the explosion far more than Russia. He thinks the conduct of Austria has been very unwise and undignified, although it was by no means her interest to go to war. He attributes the many mistakes she committed at the outset of this business to the wilfulness of the Emperor Francis Joseph, who is eaten up with vanity and conceit; and thinks, without any experience of life, that he knows everything better than any one else. Hess has been his principal adviser in military matters.

Alfred says there is prodigious '*coquetterie*' going on between France and Austria just now, which at Vienna they attribute to a desire on the part of the Emperor Napoleon to have another string to his bow, in case of the English alliance failing him.

Saturday, September 22.—I was presented yesterday to Alfred Potocki's wife, Princesse Sanguska—very pretty and pleasing, and very Polish in her manners. Called on Madame de Lieven, whom I found very angry with the violence of our Press against Russia, and in favour of continuing the war. Hübner, the Austrian Minister, was there, and was facetious at the anti-Austrian feeling of the English newspapers, and said, '*Pour moi, le Times est très comique; c'est*

mon Punch.' Hübner is reckoned very clever here, *anglophobe* to a degree, and '*très Français.*' Dined with the Potockis at the Café de Paris, and was unwell after dinner—owing, I suppose, to the intense heat—and obliged to leave the Opéra Comique and come home. When we were all sitting upstairs in the doctor's room, *en robe de chambre*, Thiers came in, and was, as usual, very amusing. There is, however, something very *gamin* about him, even when he treats of serious subjects, and something *inconclusive* in his talk. He said he passed much of his time at the exhibition of the machinery, and amongst the workmen and the inventors, and their intelligence and reasoning powers always filled him with astonishment. He said it was marvellous how these exhibitions awakened the intellectual energies of the people, by bringing them in contact with men of all nations and new ideas on all subjects. He was at a loss to conceive how this people was to be governed, if they advanced as they were now doing in knowledge and feelings of independence. He thinks they are improving in their political ideas, and are no longer socialist but republican. He spoke with sovereign contempt of the Comte de Chambord and the Fusionists, and of the 'réunion de famille' now being held at Claremont; but as he thinks all these men who have any claim to govern the country are unfit to do so, one is tempted to ask him why he does not adhere to the present system. I cannot help thinking Thiers has a sneaking kindness for the Emperor. He speaks of the French army with enthusiasm, and of Pélissier

in very high terms. Bosquet, he says, is a Republican, '*pas du tout en faveur à la Cour, mais un bon et loyal soldat.*' France, he said, has no desire for territorial aggrandisement, and the country would be quite willing to accept 'une bonne paix. La classe élevée boude—la classe bourgeoise n'est pas sans patriotisme, elle sait gré à l'armée de son admirable conduite, mais la paix lui convient. La classe inférieure ne se mêle pas trop de la politique, mais elle déteste l'absolutisme, et veut qu'on batte les Russes. Cela fait, elle accepterait, volontiers, une bonne paix. L'Empereur, c'est autre chose. Il a tout usé,—tous les moyens d'occuper l'esprit public. Il lui reste un couronnement—et un baptême,—eh bien! c'est vite fait—et quant au baptême, peut-être ne dirait-on que "Voilà ce pauvre Plon-plon flambé!"' So he went on, chattering most amusingly. He is shocked that King Leopold did not send his minister to the Te Deum (on the score of his neutrality). I think he was quite right not to do so, but he persisted that it was a great mistake, '*une impolitesse qui pourrait lui être dangereuse.*' It appears to me that if a State is really neutral, she is not called upon to thank God for the defeat of one of her allies; and that Leopold, in this instance, played the *safe* rather than the dangerous game.

Sunday, September 23.—It is reported to-day that General Prokesch, who is to be presented to the Emperor to-day, is come to arrange a military convention with France on the part of Austria. Alfred Potocki tells me he has good reason for believing that

Austria is about to re-arm, and to send a large force into Gallicia and along the frontier. Meyendorff, the Russian Minister at Berlin, writes to Madame de Lieven for the first time since the fall of Sebastopol, and says, 'Le cri général est que la chute de Sébastopol n'est que le commencement de la guerre.' This is probably merely the '*mot d'ordre*,' since it would not be expedient that the Russian *employés* should hold any other language, however much they might really desire peace.

At Naples it appears that the King has, on the representations of France, England, and I believe also of Austria, dismissed his Minister of Police, Mazza; but at the same time he has, as a *hedge*, got rid of Prince Ischitella, the Minister of War, and said to be the only honest man in his Government. In the meantime this infatuated *Bomba* is fortifying Capua and the Bay of Naples. There was an article in the Times the other day on the King of Naples' proceedings, both as *vis-à-vis* of the allies and of the war, and of his own subjects, in which it was given him to understand that although there was no desire on the part of any foreign Power to excite King Bomba's subjects to revolt, still, if by his own conduct he should bring matters to such a result, and that the *Muratists* should take advantage of the opportunity to put Prince Murat on the throne, it was not likely that England or France would interfere to prevent it. It is remarkable that this article was allowed to appear in the French newspapers, and it is not unlikely that it may have had some influence on the

King's making up his mind to dismiss his obnoxious, and I believe infamous Minister of Police—but which, when coupled with acts in a contrary sense, is in fact no real concession.

Simpson's despatch giving the account of the great event is a very meagre affair—ill-written, and conveying no new information except that it had been resolved we were to renew our attack on the Redan, with the reserve under Sir Colin Campbell, had the Russians not evacuated it in the night.

I went to-night to the Opéra Comique, where they sang a *Cantata* in honour of the fall of Sebastopol. There was a scene representing some part of Sebastopol, and men dressed in the uniforms of the allied armies, each of whom sang a strophe of self-laudatory doggerel about 'victoire,' 'Français,' 'patrie,' &c., amidst shouts of applause. It was rather effective, though eminently French, and bordering on the ridiculous. The weather is marvellously hot and fine. We drove home from the theatre, which was intensely hot, in an open carriage, without any feeling of chill or damp.

Monday, September 24.—Called on Madame de Gontaut, who received me in bed, where she has been for some days suffering from nervous attacks, but who appeared better than the last time I saw her. Her memory much clearer, but she is evidently breaking, which at eighty-four is only natural. She said she had finished her memoirs, which she had written at the desire of her family; and she thought the effort of recalling to her mind the events of so

long and chequered a life had gone far towards improving her memory. She spoke of its failure with her usual drollery. She hopes she has given this slight sketch of her life '*sans dire du mal de personne, ce qui est toujours difficile, et surtout quand on a passé longtemps à la cour.*'

I am afraid I may never again see this original and charming old lady!

Called to take leave of Madame de Lieven. She is very dejected by the state of affairs. She thinks I am more or less *au courant* of what is passing in the great world, and on that account regrets my departure; and I took for what it is worth her assurance 'qu'elle avait, *bêtement peut-être*, pris beaucoup d'amitié pour moi.'

Henry Bulwer dined with us; he thinks France intoxicated with her success, and the country as warlike now as lately it was desirous for peace; that it is very desirable we should lose no time in making up our minds on what are to be our definite objects in carrying on the war, otherwise the thirst for military glory in our ally may carry us much beyond our interests and intentions, and we may find the alliance much endangered. I believe H. Bulwer is right in this view of the case.

London, September 27.—I left Paris on Tuesday, 25th. Gerardo Carafa accompanied me to the railway, and took all trouble off my hands. He is a most amiable man. Found Lord and Lady Grey and Miss Copley at the station. Slept at Boulogne, and crossed on Wednesday. We had 363 people on board. A

lovely day and a good passage. A tremendous confusion at Folkestone, owing to the crowds of people and the enormous quantity of luggage. Reached London in 2½ hours.

Before I left Paris I read General Niel's admirable despatch, giving the details of the attack of the 8th. It is a most clear statement, and forms a very favourable contrast with the meagre despatch of Simpson. In this day's Times there is a long correspondence from Sebastopol. It states that the troops chosen for the attack on the Redan were young and raw, and that there was great difficulty in inducing them to try and get in, from the conviction that it was undermined. It speaks of Colonel Windham [1] as a hero, and declares that all the officers without exception performed prodigies of valour. These details are confirmed by a letter from Colonel Windham to Charles, which I read. He says the troops did not behave well, and the whole affair had been grossly mismanaged; that it ought to have been conducted as a *diversion* simultaneously with the attack on the Malakhoff, and was useless when once the French had got into that place.

Windham has been appointed to the command of the Karabelnaya, and says he found the hospital quite full of dead bodies—500 at least! and he puts the loss of the Russians at not less than from 15,000 to 20,000 men.

The Prince Frederick William of Prussia is at Balmoral, paying his court to the Princess Royal.

[1] Afterwards Sir Charles Windham, K.C.B.

The courtship thrives. She is quite the flower of the princesses.

Hatchford, September 30.—The Government would be glad to get rid of General Simpson. The Times pummels him in the most merciless manner.

I am reading an interesting and well-written volume of letters from Sebastopol by a Baron de Bazancourt. They have the merit of being written without the object of *proving anything*, and are graphic and natural.

Tuesday, October 2.—This day my mother completes her (alas!) eightieth year.

Windham is to have a division in the Crimea.

The Government is at its wits' end to find a proper successor to Simpson, as also a fit man to send to Vienna *vice* Westmoreland. Mediocrity reigns triumphant in our body politic.

Wednesday, October 3. — Lords Combermere, Strafford, and Hardinge are gazetted field-marshals, Simpson full general, and Windham major-general for his distinguished conduct on the 8th.

Arthur Greville writes from the Crimea that the troops behaved very ill in the attack on the Redan, and that, had they done their duty and *been properly supported*, it is the general opinion that the attack must have succeeded.

He says the Malakhoff was captured by a surprise, and 'it was *splendidly* done.'

Bentinck and Markham are coming home.

Alderman Salomons, a Jew, has been elected Lord Mayor of London. This at any other time would

have made a sensation, but now passes without comment.

October 8.—Passed a pleasant evening at Fanny Kemble's, where I met the Sartoris and Mr. Reade, the author of 'Peg Woffington' and of 'Christie Johnston.' He has a quaint manner, and is entertaining. Fanny Kemble was in high spirits, and particularly eloquent in her praise of Miss Nightingale, and believes that there is hardly a man in the world who would venture to marry so superior a being. It is her theory that men dislike superior women.

Tuesday, October 9.—Grieved to hear of poor Wharncliffe's alarming state of health. His mother, whom I saw yesterday, clings to hope, and ventures to look forward more than, I fear, she is justified in doing.

Simpson, it is reported, is to be recalled. He is an unlucky man to have been as it were forced into a position for which he was unfit, when he was filling one to which he was well adapted. He succeeded to the chief command by no wish of his own, and was anxious to be relieved from its responsibility.

The Emperor Napoleon has denied in the Moniteur any participation in Muratist views on Naples. The article says, 'The Government of the Emperor has seen with profound regret the publication of a letter on the affair of Naples, which would lead to the supposition that the policy of the Emperor, instead of being frank and loyal, as it ever has been with regard to foreign Governments, would favour in an underhand manner certain pretensions. The

Government disavow them in the most formal manner, under whatever form they may be presented.'

Wednesday, October 10.—Dined with Granville. Met Richelieu, who says that he believes the Emperor to be sincerely attached to Morny, who is the only person of his entourage who speaks the truth to him, and has free access at all hours to H.I.M.

Codrington, it is thought, will be the new Commander-in-Chief; but the Government has great difficulty in deciding, though the field to choose from is exceedingly small.

Thursday, October 11.—Dined with the Sartoris'. In the evening Mr. Donne, librarian of the London Library, and Sir Coutts Lindsay came in. Donne is a pleasant man, with much information.

He told an amusing story of Charles Lamb (à propos of some one asking if his wit and that of Sydney Smith were alike). One day, when he was playing at whist with his friend Basil Montagu, he said to him, 'Basil, if dirt were trumps, what hands you would hold!'

All agreed that the drollery of Sydney Smith was quite *his own*, and unlike that of anybody else. Donne reminded me of one of his sayings à propos of some smart and *dashing* widow: 'When Mrs. —— appears in the neighbourhood, the whole horizon is darkened with majors!'

Tewin Water, Wednesday, October 24.—I came here on the 15th, and on the following Friday went to the Mills, who are established in their new house. It is gorgeous in some respects, but comfortable.

On Friday last I was told in confidence that Codrington succeeds Simpson. He is the man, it is said, most looked up to by the army. General Eyre was, I believe, the alternative—a very clever man, but said to be afflicted with an ungovernable temper.

At Hillingdon I heard of the capture of Sleaburn, and last night that the Russians had blown up the opposite fortress of Oczakow. This morning the Telegraph reports that there were symptoms of the Russians intending to evacuate the northern forts; and at Vienna and Berlin it is believed that they will abandon the Crimea.

Poor Wharncliffe died on Monday. He was sensible to the last. He leaves few better men behind him.

Sir William Molesworth died of a low gastric fever on Monday, in his forty-fifth year. He was a clever man, who had taken great pains with himself, but was of a theoretic turn of mind. He occasionally made some good speeches, but was not a good debater, and was an indifferent man of business. At this moment he will be a loss, as, besides the difficulty of finding a good successor, there was a prestige of liberalism attached to his name which was useful to the Government. I heard yesterday from Paris that the visit of the Duc and Duchesse de Brabant at the Tuileries had shocked and disgusted every one, even those who belong to the Imperial Government. So true is it that a *bassesse* never succeeds.

I had a narrow escape of being obliged to go to Windsor to-day for the City address of congratula-

tion to the Queen on the fall of Sebastopol, but fortunately a substitute was found. I have no taste for any part of my small courtly office but the annual 100*l.* it brings me.

George Anson is to be Commander-in-Chief in India, and I am assured that this appointment will be popular there, as he has already acquired a reputation for energy, activity, and sound sense in his present employment.

Frognal, October 29.—I came here on the 26th. Found, amongst others, Tom Ashburnham,[1] whose Indian stories are very entertaining.

Wednesday, October 31.—Cowpers, Cannings; Granvilles, Shelburnes, and Ashburton came here yesterday.

Poor Wharncliffe was buried at Wortley on Saturday. Every testimony of respect was shown to him on this occasion, which was very soothing to his family. His death-bed was edifying, and as long as he was sensible he showed great anxiety to express in every way he could his feelings of tenderness and gratitude to all who surrounded him.

Hamilton Seymour is appointed Minister to Vienna, a choice which is popular, owing to his personal dealings with the Emperor Nicholas previous to the war.

Thursday, November 1.—I suspect (more from what the two Cabinet ministers did *not* say, than from anything which fell from them) that the Crimean campaign is at an end for this year.

[1] General Sir Thomas Ashburnham, C.B.—Ed.

Charles Baring, who is just come from Sebastopol, says the *séjour* of the town is rendered very disagreeable by the missiles sent into it from the northern forts, and I conclude we shall be obliged to try and take them. I expect that France at least, if not England, will soon become weary of an inactive war, costing millions, and raising the price of the provisions of life to an enormous extent.

Friday, November 2.—Cowpers, Shelburnes, Granvilles, and Richelieu went away this morning.

I was startled to-day by a letter which appears in the Times from Lord Stanley to the secretary of some association at Fakenham, wherein he excuses himself from attending a meeting at which he had promised to be present, in consequence of 'imperious circumstances which he cannot at present explain,' and adding that he was starting for Knowsley. The Times puts in a note saying that it is not improbable that Lord Stanley may form part of the present Ministry. It would seem almost impossible, however, that Lord S. could sit in the Cabinet whilst his own father is at the head of the Opposition. A day or two must solve this mystery.

Hatchford, November 5.—Returned here yesterday. Lord Stanley declines the Colonial Office offered to him. Some say because he is less warlike than the Government; others, because his father pointed out to him how false would be his position.

When he arrived at Knowsley in the middle of the night, Derby accosted him thus:—'What the devil

brings you here, Edward? Are you going to be married, or has Disraeli cut his throat?'

Friday, November 9.—Henry West, who slept here last night, told us that it was reported in London that Frederick Peel is to be Colonial Minister... There is said to be a hitch in Codrington's appointment in consequence of his insisting upon having *carte blanche* to act to the best of his judgment and on his own responsibility on his general instructions, and that he should not be interfered with in details by the War Committee sitting in London. I hope this is true, for it is simply ludicrous that a campaign should be directed by a set of civilians at 3,000 miles distance from the seat of war.

The Times announces that Sir Colin Campbell declines serving under Codrington, on the ground of seniority.

During the last few weeks there have been disturbances in Hyde Park every Sunday, by a large mob which, composed of the dregs of the populace, assembles there under the pretence of discussing the dearness of provisions, and other grievances of the poor. The respectable part of the community are excluded from the parks in consequence, and these assemblages generally conclude their proceedings by assaulting the police, and breaking the windows in the neighbourhood. These disgraceful proceedings have been permitted to go on with impunity, and the Government is much blamed for standing by with folded arms and doing nothing to prevent them, although the respectable portion of the public is both

disgusted and terrified by them. The fact is, the Government has no vigour, and a great seeming of dread of originating anything, and of responsibility.

Saturday, November 10.—A pleasant letter from Holland, from Paris, says, 'We have pleasant dinners, and our Mondays have lately been very agreeable. Remarkable people glad to meet each other on neutral ground. Thiers came here last night to meet Lords Lansdowne and Lyndhurst, who had been dining here with Walewski. When all the party was gone the little man stood with his back to the fire, and discoursed for nearly two hours most agreeably —illustrating his opinions from the vast stores of his great reading on military matters, with anecdotes and scenes in his own ministerial life, detailed with all his animation and graphic description. He wishes for peace, but thinks it *now* impossible. He thinks a peace now, very very difficult for the allies, and almost impossible for Russia. He considers the war as still in its infancy, and fears that if a peace were patched up now, it would be a mere truce. The interests, the passions, the ambition that war has aroused in the West and in the East, are not so easily put by, even by an Emperor of Russia. A despot at St. Petersburg, and a despot at Paris, cannot make a peace without satisfying the masses on which he depends. Where assemblies are to be satisfied, the task is less difficult. They may be cajoled, persuaded, or won, but the masses who look at this question *en gros* will weigh only the material losses and the material gains when peace is signed.'

Yesterday Palmerston made a flaming war harangue at the Lord Mayor's dinner, which by the newspaper account was hailed with enthusiasm, whilst no one would listen to John Russell!

At the end of the room was hung a fine transparency in honour of the liberty of the Press, with this motto,—

'Magna est *Veritas*, et prævalebit.'

What a joke and what a farce it all is to hear Palmerston bespattering the Emperor of the French with praises for his noble disinterestedness in fighting for *liberty*, against barbarism and despotism! he being the greatest living despot, in whose nostrils all liberty, and especially that of the Press, absolutely stinks.

Persigny spoke a few words, which were of course loudly cheered.

The approaching arrival of the King of Sardinia at Paris, here and at Brussels is announced with a great flourish. I expect a great ovation will be made to him here, and he has more claim to it from us as a constitutional sovereign than he who received it last April at our hands. However, it was not as a sovereign so much as an ally that we gave him such a welcome.

Wednesday, November 14.—I went up to town on Monday to see the oculist, White Cooper, as my eyes are giving me uneasiness. He thinks the right eye in danger of cataract; the other irritable, but not yet in an alarming state—but requiring watching. An order of the day of Simpson's appeared, com-

menting much upon the great desire of officers to obtain leave of absence—which shows how sick they are of the war.

Lord Truro died a few days ago, after a protracted illness. I remember few events in society which caused so much astonishment as his marriage to Mademoiselle d'Este, which ensued from the intercourse they had during the suit of the Duke of Sussex's children to try and prove their legitimacy. He was a clever man, but remarkably ugly and considerably older than herself, and with several children by a former marriage. They lived very happily together, and she is now in deep affliction at his death.

Thursday, November 15.—It is denied on the part of Colin Campbell by a letter from Colonel Stirling to the Times, that his leaving the Crimea had any connexion with Codrington's appointment, or any reluctance on his part to serve under him. Codrington's answer to the despatch appointing him to the chief command only reached the Government on Monday last, and he makes no conditions (as had been said), and I regret it, as I think his evincing a determination to be *free* to act to the best of his judgment would be a strong indication of his fitness for the post. Arthur Egerton writes from the Crimea that he finds every one grumbling about one thing or the other, and the indignation against the newspapers universal.

John Russell delivered a lecture on Tuesday, on the 'Obstacles to Moral and Political Progress,' to an immense crowd at Exeter Hall. He was very well received; and though his friends did not approve his

doing this, I expect that it was not impolitic on his part, and may prove advantageous to him.

Charles writes to me he is sick of the newspapers and of the humbug about the war, which if it were not so mischievous would be ridiculous and contemptible, and also of all the flattery of the Emperor Napoleon.

Froynal, Sunday, November 18.—I came here yesterday. I passed Friday evening very agreeably with Fanny Kemble, who read to me parts of a translation of Schiller's 'Mary Stuart,' which she began long ago, but is only now thinking of finishing. The scene between Mortimer and Elizabeth (omitted always in the representation) is admirably done.

The French Exhibition was closed on the 15th with great pomp by the Emperor. The Duke of Cambridge accompanied H.M., who made a very clever speech (as he generally does) in reply to the report read by Prince Napoleon, all turning upon peace and war, and appealing to all foreign States to pronounce themselves either for or against, that being the most probable chance of a prompt and durable peace, and such as he declared he had at heart. The tone of this harangue is differently interpreted; at Paris I hear it is considered *warlike*. Omar Pacha has gained a victory in Asia.

Labouchere[1] is appointed Colonial Minister, Sidney Herbert having (it is said) declined the office.

London, Thursday, November 22.—I returned here on Tuesday. Yesterday I acquired the disagreeable

[1] Afterwards Lord Taunton.

information that I have cataracts in both eyes; the one a good deal advanced, the other incipient. If total blindness be the alternative, which it might be, I must still consider myself even now as very fortunate. I received a most kind letter from Fanny Kemble, full of sympathy, and of her desire to be of use to me during my trial—perfectly sincere, I am certain. Being unwell, I spent this evening at home looking over old letters, some from my mother and sister, written from Aix-la-Chapelle during the Congress, reminding me of a thousand trifles of my youthful days.

I also stumbled upon a kind letter from the Duke of Wellington, from Stratfieldsaye, dated September 1820, telling me that Lady Bathurst, with whom I was to go to Stratfieldsaye, had been obliged to postpone her visit, but he hoped that I should go there if I wished it; if not, that he would send back to London 'your horse,' one he always lent me, which he had ordered down there in case I went there. What a wonderful man he was! There was no amount of business (and he was overwhelmed with it) that ever prevented his thoughtful good-nature; and I never can forget how kind his manner to me invariably was; and though of late years I seldom saw him, whenever I did he was always *affectionate* in his way of greeting me.

Hatchford, Monday, November 26.—Came here on Thursday. From various things I have heard, I have reason to think some serious negotiations for peace are again on foot. I believe the Emperor Napoleon

is endeavouring to concoct some project with Austria to be submitted to our Cabinet; indeed, I suspect they have already deliberated upon it, for they sat 3½ hours on Wednesday. I am inclined to think that since the Emperor's speech on the closing of the Exhibition, and which was certainly a *feeler*, the tone of Palmerston, so warlike at the Mansion House, has somewhat abated. Madame de Lieven writes that this speech had made a prodigious sensation at Paris, that it was 'profondément habile et avait atterré les diplomates.' I can't see why. It is curious that our Press has hardly commented upon this speech—a proof that they consider it may have a pacific meaning, which would not be to their taste.

The King of Sardinia arrived at Paris on the 23rd. He was received with great honours, and was met at the stations of the great towns by the bishops of the dioceses, and at that of Paris by the archbishop. This is remarkable from the peculiar relations now existing between the Papal See and Sardinian Government.

Wednesday, November 28.—There was no public demonstration of enthusiasm shown to the King of Sardinia at Paris. He is coming to Windsor on the 13th, and some of the Royal Family here indulge a hope he may propose to Princess Mary, which I believe to be entirely without foundation.

I believe the Emperor Napoleon has made a strong appeal to our Government in favour of peace, and has written a letter to the Queen, which the Duke of Cambridge was charged to deliver to her, on the

receipt of which she summoned Palmerston and Clarendon to Windsor. If the Emperor be really determined to have no more of this war, we must of course follow in his wake; and I don't think Palmerston will have any reason for thanking H.I.M. that he kept him in the dark as to his sentiments, as I conclude he must have done up to the time of his speech at the Mansion House, or Palmerston would hardly have blown the war-trumpet so loudly. In the meanwhile the Times and the Press in general are silent upon the subject, and it will be curious and amusing to see on whom they will wreak their anger and vexation, should pacific counsels really prevail.

Frank Egerton read me a letter from John Moore, who has lately been staying with Omar Pacha. He speaks of him as a man of great ability, and in the warmest praise of the manner in which he conducted the last affair of Ingour, in which he was much assisted by several English officers, one of whom, Captain Dymoke, a very fine fellow, was killed. He says the influence of the Pacha and his prestige amongst his troops are without bounds. He found him easy and pleasant to live with, but their intercourse was much impeded by the bad French of Omar and the bad German of Moore.

The Emperor Francis Joseph has just signed a concordat with the Pope, resigning all the privileges which the Emperor Joseph had secured from the Holy See, and the conditions of which appear to be worthy of the dark ages. It is insinuated by the

Piedmont Press—the only one on the Continent which ventures to discuss the document—that it is owing to the influence of the Archduchess Sophia the Emperor has been induced to bow his neck and that of his subjects to the priestly yoke.

The Moniteur announces the death of Admiral Bruat, suddenly, when sailing out of the port of Messina on his way home from the Crimea. He and Sir Edmund Lyons were on excellent terms, and he was considered a very good officer.

Count Molé died a few days ago of apoplexy. He was a man of some ability, with distinguished appearance and manners. Since the revolution of February he had retired from political life, and was seldom seen but by his most intimate friends. He was very hostile to the French and English alliance, and had always advocated one with Russia.

The ladies of the Faubourg St.-Germain who do not frequent the Court decline wearing the enormous *roundabouts* in fashion at the Tuileries, and are called by them '*Les sans-jupons.*'

Saturday, December 1.—The King of Sardinia was well received on his arrival in London, both at the station and in the streets through which he passed, but the crowd was not great.

Rumours of peace are growing more rife. The *Press* of this day declares positively that a proposition approved by the Emperor Napoleon has been submitted to our Cabinet. The same paper contains a violent but well-merited attack on Sir Robert Peel, who, being one of the Lords of the Admiralty, made a

speech the other night to his constituents at Tamworth, in which he complained of the little that had been done by our fleets, both in the Baltic and the Euxine, which he attributed to the inefficiency of the men employed to carry out 'Lord Palmerston's policy.' Were I Sir Edmund Lyons or Admiral Dundas, I would insist upon the dismissal of Sir Robert; but he is supposed to be a favourite of Lord Palmerston's, and will probably escape this deserved punishment.

On Thursday a meeting was held at Willis's Rooms to found a permanent testimonial to Miss Nightingale for her services in the East. The Duke of Cambridge was in the chair, and eminent persons of all ranks and classes were present. Great eulogiums were of course passed upon her, and it was resolved that a school for nurses should be established, the management of which should be entrusted to her with the assistance of a committee, and a subscription is to be raised to carry out the scheme. This appears to me rather an absurd project. The way to teach nurses is to afford them experience in attending upon the sick in the hospitals. No other school can be of half the benefit—and no large sum can be necessary for this object.

The history of the Austrian Concordat is made public by the allocution of the Pope to the secret consistory on November 3. He declares that it originated in the solicitations of the Emperor, who had been moved to afford increased facilities for meeting the spiritual wants of his people. It dwells on the

banishment from this treaty with Austria of the false, barbarous, and fatal doctrine that the Placeat or Exequatur of the civil authority is necessary in spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs, but promises that throughout the Austrian dominions the Pontifical and Roman ceremonial shall be carried out under a scrupulous observance of the whole canonical law, 'all usage and custom notwithstanding.' The Concordat, in short, places the Roman Catholic priesthood in a position of supremacy, not merely of independence. I expect there will be considerable difficulty in carrying out the provisions of this Concordat, as the priests are sure to increase in arrogance in proportion to the great concessions made to them, and the civil power will ultimately find itself obliged to resist the monster it has created.

London, December 4.—Came here yesterday on my way to Tewin Water. Dined with the Flahaults. I told Flahault, as a proof of how much the Queen had felt at ease with the Emperor when she was at Paris, she had attacked him on the confiscation of the Orleans property, and that he had defended it on the plea that he knew positively that that vast property had been employed in attempts to upset him and his Government, and that thus the measure had been forced upon him. That to this the Queen had rejoined that he might have contented himself, as a matter of precaution, with *sequestrating* the property, which, if the danger really existed, would have served his purpose, and have been more just; and that now, when he had nothing to apprehend, he would have

been able to restore it. Flahault said that the Emperor, in saying this, had told that to the Queen which he knew to be untrue. The money had *never* been so employed, nor were there any Orleans plots; that the Emperor knew he was doing an injustice, and at one moment had all but abandoned the project. He had formerly pronounced himself strongly against the law of August, which on Louis Philippe's accession gave his private property to his children; and that the real fact was, the whole business had been an *intrigue* of Persigny and others, who left the Emperor no peace until he issued this decree, to which they knew that Morny and those who had assisted in the *coup d'état*, and were strong in power, would not consent. It had been besides a gross injustice, a capital political mistake.

I have a letter this morning from Edward Sartoris, who says, 'People here are busy in trying to explain, I will not say the cold, but the slightly fresh reception given to his Sardinian Majesty. It is thought the Master here is getting very anxious for peace, and that he is particularly desirous of keeping well with Austria, with whose attitude (and this is, I believe, quite true) he has expressed himself satisfied. So the King had to sneak along the Quais instead of going down the Boulevards, where he might have been met with cries of "Viva il Rè *d' Italia!*"

Palmerston inspires no confidence, and it is thought that he might not be averse to a general row in Italy next spring. In that case we want to be able to say

to Austria, Queen Victoria's particular friend is not mine; please to observe the difference between her reception and mine. I shall not be at all surprised if the alliance were to break up about Piedmont. He is the only constitutional king in Europe, and will always look up to us for support. What we want here is a general Congress; that was what we meant when we said that the "silence of Europe was a mistake." I know from the best sources that the French army is dissatisfied with its inaction since the taking of Sebastopol, and the General is looked upon as deficient in strategy!!'

The King of Sardinia went to the City to-day. He replied to the Lord Mayor's speech in Italian, and was very much cheered. He has been beset by addresses from various religious and Dissenting societies, which, though he has replied to them judiciously, may very likely be a source of embarrassment to him on his return to his own dominions. He is very ugly, and very abrupt in his manner, and seems to say any or every thing that comes into his head. The Queen is both amused and interested by him. He told her that if he could not pursue the 'métier d'un soldat, il se ferait moine;' and he frequently spoke to her of his domestic misfortunes. There is no chance of his marrying Princess Mary.'

I had a most kind letter from Canning, from Paris on his way to India, taking leave of me, and full of amiable expressions. He mentions a droll trait of the King of Sardinia. He was present at the homage done to the Emperor by two newly appointed bishops,

when they had to kneel down and kiss his Majesty's hand; whereupon the King was heard to say, 'Ah, que je voudrais les voir à mes pieds!' accompanying the sentiment with a gesture as if he would 'punch their heads'!

Sunday, December 9.—Ellesmere, on his return from Windsor, where he went for the investiture of the Garter, writes, 'Sardinia is enchanted with his visit, and means to come again. I suspect the Queen has been a good deal amused on her part by anything so new and strange to her as his conversation, which is certainly very original and often droll, though to the last degree brusque and *soldatesque*, and such as must have given her an interest bordering on apprehension as to what would come next. *Il m'a fait l'effet* of a King of the Heruli, or Longobards, or some such barbarian tribe on his good behaviour. His figure, for muscle, depth of chest, and elastic vigour, is that of the strong man of a circus, who walks up ropes with a family of young children in his arms, and a 29-pounder in his teeth. As I did not live in the time of the Heruli, the former is the only thing I have seen like him. His structure was much brought out by his dress, for in order to show the Garter, he wore *white shorts*, which in combination with a very short tunic looked exactly like drawers. He shoots by moonlight, rides like a centaur, and, as the Duchess of Sutherland says, is the only Knight, of the many she has seen, who looks as if he certainly would have the best of it with the Dragon. Two hours' sleep he considers more than

sufficient, and after going to bed at three, he calls his staff up at five to smoke with him. For some reason or other he was as ill pleased with France as he is well pleased with England. As it is something new for us to be popular with anybody, I hope we shall make the most of it.'

I hear Clarendon was much pleased with Cavour, whom I believe to be a first-rate man. The general belief here is that our Government will do all they can to avert the chances of peace, and will insist on such conditions being tendered to the Russians as they know they *cannot* accept. They want also that Russia should be compelled to say *yes* or *no* at once, which is quite unreasonable, for she may be disposed to yield much, and to negotiate on the rest. Austria wishes that three weeks should be given to Russia to consider of the propositions. If the Emperor Napoleon be as much bent upon peace as I hear from Paris he is supposed to be, he will say that his proposal is not necessarily his *dernier mot*, and will insist on negotiating. The fact is that peace or war depends on what the Emperor Napoleon's real views and intentions are; it is humiliating to us that it should be so, but *so it is*.

The party here broke up yesterday. As there were two Cabinet ministers, there was, as is generally the case, next to no discussion on home or foreign politics. It is useless to enter upon these matters with men who, by their position, are more accurately informed on the facts than others can be, but who cannot speak unreservedly of them. On this account

I would always rather that the people I live with were not in office.

Hinchingbrook, Tuesday, December 11.—I slept in town last night in order to hear Jenny Lind in the 'Creation.' She was in very strong voice, and sang like an artist, but she never moves me the least. Fanny Kemble accompanied me, and I went home with her, when she read to me some extracts from the sermons of a Mr. Robertson, a young clergyman of Brighton, who died lately. They are full of wisdom and eloquence. He did not publish them himself, but they were printed from the notes of a shorthand writer.

On the railway I met Sir William Clay, who told me he heard from Paris that the Emperor Napoleon was bent upon making peace, and he thinks our Government will have no alternative but to consent to such terms as H.I.M. may consider fair and proper.

Madame de Lieven writes that such terms as those lately enunciated in the Morning Post, and which were first supposed to be suggested by Persigny, but are now said to issue from Palmerston, are quite inadmissible, and will not be listened to at St. Petersburg.

It was reported in London that Kars had fallen. The Government consider it probable that it will do so, but the news had not been confirmed.

London, December 18.—Came to town yesterday. The Morning Post announces that Valentin Esterhazy had left Vienna for St. Petersburg with the propositions for peace, which are of such a nature that

I do not imagine the Russian Government will listen to them. We are given to understand that in this event Austria will at once recall her minister. I do not exactly see what we shall gain by this, and I do not think the policy of Austria is very noble in having waited until Russia was weakened, and then giving her this kick.

I believe the Emperor Napoleon to be very wavering in his policy, and under conflicting influences. Peace is strongly urged by Morny and Walewski, whilst warlike counsels are continually pressed upon him by Cowley and Persigny. The latter is on very bad terms with Walewski, and he makes no secret of it.

I went last night to hear Jenny Lind in the 'Elijah' at Exeter Hall. The part was written for her, and her execution of it, particularly in passages of power, is admirable. I am told she gets 500*l.* for each concert. The Hall was crammed, and most of the places cost a guinea, so that Mitchell, who *farms* her, must make a good thing of his undertaking.

I have an amusing letter from Arthur Egerton, from the Crimea. He complains of the cold, but considers himself fortunate to have escaped the work in the trenches. He says every one is ignorant of the plans of the Russians. They are constantly firing shells into the town, and he believes they have fortified every hill, nook, and ravine up to Perekop. Codrington is at present very popular, *pourvu que cela dure.*

It is curious that when General Airey was at Paris, he enlightened the Emperor on many points

regarding H.M.'s own army on which he was entirely ignorant; amongst other things, on the number of his *effective men*, which he had believed to be above 100,000, whereas Airey told him they did not amount to nearly 80,000. Flahault tells me that the Emperor, who is generally supposed to do and look into everything himself, and to be a man of extraordinary activity and decision, is, on the contrary, very indolent and undecided; and being therefore constantly ignorant of much that is done or left undone in the various departments of the State, often acts on imperfect knowledge of details and circumstances.

This must be a most dangerous mode of governing.

I find that Kars capitulated on November 28.

Rogers died on Tuesday last, in the ninety-third year of his age. His mind had for some time past given way, and his death may be considered as a release. He was a man who did very benevolent things, which no one would have supposed from his *saturnine* conversation. Ever since I have known him, he has been slow and tedious, and demanding exclusive attention. He was always impatient of the success of others in society, and in this respect formed a disadvantageous contrast with poor Luttrell, with whom he so long 'ran in couples.' I suppose in former days he used to say brilliant things, and when younger and stronger, did not so often as in later years find his smart sayings drowned in the more boisterous, and probably less clever, conversation of younger men, under which I have seen him *wince*.

Hatchford, Christmas Day, Tuesday.—I came here a week ago. Sir Charles and Lady Lyell have been staying here. He is a very pleasant as well as a learned man, and would be still more so if he spoke a little more audibly. She is extremely natural, gentle and sensible. They have crossed the Atlantic four times, and speak highly of the society of Boston.

Canrobert has been sent on a mission to Sweden, to conclude a treaty stipulating that the Swedish Government shall make no cession of territory to Russia; whilst the Western Powers promise that if Russia should attempt any encroachment upon Sweden, they will supply her with troops sufficient to resist the aggression on her territory. This not only protects Sweden from a movement on the part of Russia having for object to obtain a footing on the northern frontier, which would have given her a maritime position overawing Norway, but also carries out the principle of maintaining the boundaries of Europe as they are. This is of more importance to Sweden than to us at *present*, but it is probable there are other secret articles in the treaty, which by-and-by will bear their fruits.

Thursday, December 27.—I have a letter from Alfred Potocki, dated the 21st, from Vienna. They tell him there is no good ground for expecting peace. Madame de Lieven writes, 'Il est inutile de revenir sur le passé.—Les propositions sont lancées.—Chrétiennement, il faudrait les accepter.—Politiquement, je suis tenté de croire qu'il le faudrait aussi.—Par

honneur, je dirais que non.—Ici on voudrait la paix, et pour cela, on dit qu'on l'espère.—Chez vous, cela serait dans le sens inverse.'

Charles writes to me from The Grove, that neither Clarendon nor Lewis has any expectation of peace; he believes that, whatever may be the Emperor Napoleon's real wishes on the subject, he fancies he is making a very politic and skilful stroke, combining many objects. He wishes, first and above all, to have no difference with us, and there is none. Then he will be glad if he can get the terms accepted and have peace; and he thinks he has secured Austria in the event of the terms being rejected; besides which he thinks it likely he shall get the rest of Germany; and then, by the accumulated weight of the whole strength of Europe, that Russia will be compelled to submit. Charles doubts whether all these events will come off according to his wish. Walewski proposed to Granville when he was last at Paris to agree upon some terms of peace to be proposed to Russia, but on this being reported to the Cabinet they threw cold water upon it, and said it was not yet time for such a move. Then the Emperor turned to Austria, and they two concocted this scheme together, it having been first sketched out at Paris, and since arranged between Buol and Bourqueney. What Austria's ultimate objects are no one seems exactly to know.

Saturday, December 29.—Charles writes, 'Valentin Esterhazy arrived at St. Petersburg on Monday. He was to deliver the proposition, and to say he had

reason to believe the allies would make peace on those terms, *et voilà tout.* He was then to wait nine days. If within these nine days the Russian Government declared itself willing to accept—armistice. If they rejected them, he was to leave St. Petersburg with all his mission. If at the end of nine days, no answer, he was to ask for one, and to announce that if in ten days more they did not accept, or if they sent no answer at all, he was instructed to come away; and Buol has repeated his positive orders to him not to listen to any counter-project, or take any answer but yes or no. Nobody seems to have an idea of what will be the result, but the general opinion is that they will *not* accept. My own opinion is that they will express their willingness to negotiate; and if they do so in a plausible way, and notwithstanding Esterhazy's instructions, by some contrivance or other a negotiation will ensue. There never was, you may rely on it, a more complicated state of affairs, or one more pregnant with dangers of different kinds. The conduct of Austria is quite unintelligible, and Clarendon does not know what to think of it, or what she is driving at.'

The Imperial Guard on its return from the Crimea is to make a triumphal entry into Paris to-day. The day is to be observed as a holiday; the Emperor is to meet them with great pomp, to harangue them, and to march at their head through the streets of Paris. He knows the taste of the people he governs.

Hatchford, January 1, 1856.—Edward Sartoris writes to me from Paris (December 29), 'I write from

the club, where I went to see the triumphal march of 15,000 men, with the Emperor at their head. *He*, as usual, was very coolly received ; the troops, especially the Zouaves, enthusiastically. It was very fine and thrilling. The fellows looked splendid in their weather-beaten dresses. They are very sanguine about peace here. I heard in England that unbounded confidence was placed by the English Government in the judgment of the chief here, and that everything would depend upon his decision.'

Lady Holland also writes me an account of the entry of the troops, which she describes as a very touching spectacle. Crowns of laurel and bouquets were thrown upon them by the spectators. All the generals when recognised were enthusiastically cheered, especially Canrobert.

The Emperor's harangue to the troops was very much in the style of the old imperial 'blarney,' and contained nothing of importance, unless it be the following sentence, which, if it has any meaning at all, is probably directed against Prussia :—'Je vous ai rappelés, quoique la guerre ne soit pas terminée, parce qu'il est juste de remplacer à leur tour les régimens qui ont le plus souffert. Chacun pourra ainsi prendre sa part de gloire, *et le pays qui entretient* 600,000 *soldats a intérêt à ce qu'il y ait maintenant en France une armée nombreuse et aguerrie, prête à se porter où le besoin l'exige.*'

As a *pendant* to this sentence, there is an article in the Morning Post, in large type (Palmerston's paper), full of abuse and threats against Prussia.

Nothing, in my opinion, can be more ill-judged and unbecoming than this bullying tone. Appearing in conjunction with the Emperor's harangue it is possible Persigny, who often uses the Morning Post as his organ, may have caused this article to be inserted. Persigny is not remarkable for good judgment, though, I believe, a well-meaning and honest man.

Wednesday, January 2.—The Corps Diplomatique is much displeased at the Turkish Ambassador Musurus's advancement to that post, and thus being put over their heads. That he is a Christian, and the first ever named to the office, which evinces some progress in the Ottoman system of government, in no way lessens their vexation.

Persigny's twenty-four hours' visit to Paris is supposed to have put an end to all the intrigues of the 'Russian tools,' as the advocates of peace are styled by the war party.

It is announced to-day that Russia has sent a circular to all her foreign ministers, declaring her willingness to accept the third point as proposed at the conference by Austria, and to which France and England would not agree. This appears almost like a defiance to the Western Powers, since Russia cannot for a moment suppose they would take *now* what they did not consider worth having *then*. The English newspapers pronounce this new move to be merely a piece of Russian impertinence. It is just possible it may be one to open a new negotiation.

Saturday, January 5.—The Russian circular is given in the Globe to-day, and is couched in such

moderate language as to give rather the impression of being an invitation to negotiate than a *dernier mot*, and declares itself as a response to the pacific overture made by the Emperor Napoleon in his speech on closing the Exhibition.

Lord Ailesbury died yesterday morning at Tottenham; and although he had been ailing so long, his death was so unexpected when it occurred, that I was in the act of reading a letter from Lady Bruce, inviting me to Savernake, when some one read aloud to me the account of his death in the morning newspaper. I subsequently received a letter from Lady Bruce telling me of the event.

Tuesday, January 8.—Charles writes to me from London, 'There seems to be a gleam of hope that peace may ensue. Austria sends word she thinks Russia will accept the terms. *Why* she thinks so I don't know, but she must have some reason. It is evident she does not mean to reject them. She will either accept, or offer to negotiate—probably the latter. She is now thinking the matter over, and what answer she shall send.'

The newspapers speak of the feeling of the minor German States as being decidedly more pacific, and that *Hesse* has conveyed to the Russian Government its own desire, as well as that of others of the Principalities, that the terms should be accepted—the Empress of Russia is a princess of Hesse-Darmstadt. The Morning Post throws out a hint that it may be found necessary to coerce Prussia so far as to prevent her from allowing Russia to carry on her commerce

through the Prussian territory; and one hears now and then of the supposed strong desire of the Emperor Napoleon to carry the scene of war to the Rhine. It is not impossible but that these various small indications may in the aggregate with other things have made some impression upon Russia; and it is not unlikely but that Austria may know more than we do of the real state of that country at this moment, and have reason to believe her exhaustion so great as to be encouraged to propose these terms with a chance of success. This appears to me the only way of accounting for the sudden change of tone of Austria towards the Western Powers, and also for her choosing this moment for disbanding a large number of her own troops on the frontier.

Thursday, January 10.—Instead of giving her answer to Esterhazy, the Russian Government has despatched Count Stackelberg to Vienna with a reply —it is supposed a counter-proposition. As he can only reach Vienna on the 13th, five or six days must elapse before we can hear anything.

The Charles Percys and Count Strelecki came here to-day. The latter, who so much distinguished himself by his exertions during the Irish famine, would be an agreeable man if he would speak French instead of English, in which, though correct, he is very slow. Apropos of Mentchikoff's famous mission to the Sultan, he said no one was less anxious for war than he was; and he openly attributed all that had since happened to the false information furnished by Brunnow and Kisseleff as to our inability to go to war,

and to the cordiality of the French and English alliance. On Mentchikoff's arrival at Constantinople, the Sultan, in order to curry favour with him, presented him with a very fine crucifix which had been found many years ago. Mentchikoff hung this crucifix in a room where were the portraits of Brunnow and Kisseleff, suspended on each side of it; and when any one came to him on business he pointed to the wall, and said, 'Voilà le Calvaire—voilà le Sauveur—et voilà les deux voleurs.'

London, Saturday, January 11.—Came to town last night. Dined with Granvilles. It is expected something will be known to-morrow from Vienna.

Edward Sartoris writes to me from Paris, 'I suppose you have already heard that Pélissier's opinion, as conveyed by his deputy, Martimpré,[1] is that nothing more can be done in the Crimea, that the allies and Russians are mutually impregnable, and that in fact the game is virtually over there, unless we choose to leave 40,000 men to keep in check a certain amount of Russians. And so ends this expedition, which, considering that Sebastopol, essentially a seaport and military arsenal, has lost neither harbour nor citadel, has not had any very solid results. The moral effect, let us hope, may be greater, especially when we get the fresh income tax. People here are beginning to grumble against the Cronstadt concern, which they term suicidal in the contingency of a rupture with England. The Emperor is supposed to be *rabid* for

[1] General Martimpré was Chief of the Staff to Marshal Pélissier at the close of the Crimean War.—Ed.

peace, but afraid of Palmerston. I think, some day, people will be a little surprised at the way in which the Emperor's capacity has been overrated. In the meanwhile nobody wishes him to go. He is looked upon as a necessity. He has had a tremendous tiff with Bosquet, whom an imprudent aide-de-camp represented in letters as too fond of the Orleans party; but they have made it up. Canrobert, the Court people report to be insane, on account of his acknowledgment to the people on the day of the triumphal entry; and the promotion to the Maréchalat is said to be deferred on that account.'

Monday, January 14.—The Morning Post publishes the Russian reply. They concede more than I expected, but reject the 'rectification' of their territory, and also the fifth proposition; reserving to the allies the right 'de produire dans un intérêt européen des conditions particulières en sus des 4 garanties.' This of course means that the fortress of Bomarsund shall not be re-erected. Esterhazy was instructed to give till the 18th to the Russian Government to say *yes* or *no* to the whole; and in the event of *no*, to come away at once. I think we might very well negotiate on this reply of Russia, and that it is very wrong not to do so; but we are so afraid of the Press and the violent war outcry, that I think it very doubtful if we shall venture to do so, although I believe the Emperor Napoleon objected to our sending an ultimatum, and only consented to it at the earnest request of our Government.

Clarendon is prevented from attending to business

by the death of his mother, which is a very heavy affliction to him. The Austrian Concordat has begun already to bear its fruits. The Archbishop of Milan has published a circular to the printers and engravers and libraries of Lombardy, ordering them to submit in future to the ecclesiastical censorship anything that is published by them of every description before it is given to the public; and in case of their failing to do so, announces that they have the right to call in the civil power to enforce this order. Many well-informed persons believe that this monstrous Concordat will be resisted in many parts of the empire, and will turn out to be a source of constant trouble to the Government. It will be nothing more than what the Emperor will deserve for consenting to this act worthy of the dark ages.

Arthur Egerton writes from the Crimea that one universal and ardent wish for peace pervades the whole army, and that the French army is quite as much dissatisfied with Pélissier as ours has ever been with any of our generals. Pélissier is described by those who know him to be without any great capacity, and of a jealous disposition, and bent upon doing everybody's business besides his own.

Frognal, January 17.—I came here on the 15th. Charles writes to me, 'I think now that we are pretty secure of peace. All parties seem to wish for it. The French have sent to ask our Government what we think of the Russian proposals, saying they will send no answer until they are apprised of our sentiments. The Cabinet is now sitting, and from all I

hear of their sentiments I think they are well disposed to close with it, or at least to negotiate with the intention of making peace; and they don't appear to think there will be any great difficulty in arranging such differences as there are still to be settled. Matters have reached such a point, that I do not see how the war can possibly go on. This is a great blessing. Esterhazy will, I suppose, quit St. Petersburg on the 18th (but this will not signify) unless telegraphic messages should arrest his departure. The Russians will be sure to be informed that he comes away in virtue of the original orders given to him, and that all is going on well. A very conciliatory letter has been written by Nesselrode, which, however, has not yet arrived, though they are aware of the tone of it.'

This letter was most cheering, but it hardly prepared me for the news brought by Vivian[1] from London that a telegraphic message had arrived, announcing that the Russians had accepted the Austrian proposal, '*pur et simple*'—unconditionally. This news was believed in London, and Granville and Palmerston, whom he (Vivian) had met at Apsley House, at the marriage breakfast of Lady Emily Hay, had appeared highly elated. At night I got a letter from E. Sartoris, from Paris, in reply to one I had written to him on the counter-proposition of Russia, and the effect it had made here, who writes, 'If Palmerston has a speck of patriotism, he will disregard all place and party considerations and make peace. You may rely on it that the universal discontent which prevails here will,

[1] Honourable John C. W. Vivian, brother of Lord Vivian, *d.* 1879.—Ed.

in the event of the continuance of the war, find some means of coming to the surface.'

The Duke of Cambridge in the name of the Queen, and by the desire of the Emperor, distributed the Crimean medals to the French officers and soldiers at a grand parade in the court of the Tuileries on Tuesday. He delivered the medals to each officer with his own hand, and at a given signal all the soldiers took from their pockets the medals which had previously been allotted to them, and the Duke made them a speech. Madame de Lieven writes, 'La troupe a été charmée et le spectacle était bien beau.' In the evening the Emperor and Empress went to a ball at the English Embassy.

Saturday, January 19.—Lady Holland writes to me on the 18th, 'I had written to you and sealed a long letter yesterday, and was just sending it off, when a bustle in the house announced Jérôme, the ex-King. I was in my night-cap, but was obliged to go down, when he received me in his arms, kissed me, and said, "*La paix est faite.*" He was overpowered, having been such an advocate for peace. He came from the conference of war, where the Emperor announced the reception of the news from St. Petersburg and Vienna, that Russia accepted all. In an hour afterwards it was up at the Bourse, where the rise of five per cent. no doubt enriched the rich and ruined the poor, for Morny and Rothschild, whom I met yesterday evening, were radiant. I wrote the news off to Princesse Lieven before it reached her otherwise, and went to see her later. She is evidently humiliated,

but bears it with dignity, and says the idea of peace consoles her for everything else. The fact seems incredible; I never expected such a result from these propositions, and there must be in Russia some heavy pressure somewhere. *Here* they see the immediate retreat of the armies from the Crimea as the great boon, and I suspect, when we all come to settle, there will turn up old things, for they expatiate on the force it will give the Western Powers to have available such armies as ours and theirs. Here the warlike preparations are to continue, and I hope it will be so with ours: there is not *implicit* confidence attached to this sudden acceptation.'

Mr. Alexander, Q.C., came here from London this evening, and said the funds were steadily rising; and Rothschild had expressed to a friend of his, his entire confidence in peace.

London, Monday, January 21.—I returned here to-day. I find at the very outset that there is a hitch in the immediate signature of the preliminaries of peace, owing to the following circumstance:—

When the Emperor Napoleon sent over to us the Austrian proposal, our Government considered the fifth article as too vague, and insisted on the substitution or addition of the following conditions:—1st, that Bomarsund should not be rebuilt; 2nd, that we should have consuls in all the ports of the Black Sea; and 3rd, that there should be some new arrangement made with regard to Circassia and Georgia. This amended proposal was sent back to Paris, with the understanding that it was to be transmitted to

Vienna; but Walewski (probably from the intense desire that Russia should accept the terms, and that he might realise by the consequent rise in the funds) sent the conditions back to Vienna in their original form. The result of this is that *we* decline beginning the negotiation until these other conditions are submitted to Russia.

Azeglio told me to-night that Baudin had come over from Paris for twenty-four hours, and had probably been sent to explain this manœuvre of Walewski. Karolyi told me he thought that Russia, having 'avalé la grosse pilule,' would not make any further difficulty. In the meanwhile our Press is doing all it can to blow up the coals—putting forth absurd pretensions, and endeavouring to throw every obstacle possible in the way of peace.

It is supposed that Clarendon will be our representative at the Congress, and Brunnow and Orloff those of Russia, and that it will be held at Frankfort.

The elevation of Baron Parke to a life peerage with the title of Wensleydale has excited much surprise and animadversion. It is by many considered as illegal; by others as a very dangerous exercise of the prerogative, and founded on a bad precedent—and in this case wanton and useless, as Parke is an old man without male heirs.

It is supposed by many (who can account for this unusual course in no other manner) that it has been resorted to for the sake of raising the question as to the propriety of creating Law Lords as by exception, for life, for which there are a good many and obvious

reasons, though there are likewise strong objections.

Madame de Lieven writes that the prospect of peace causes universal satisfaction at Paris, except amongst our compatriots, who do not attempt to disguise their mortification at a probable termination of the war. There is no doubt that in England (excepting in the army, which I believe to be dead sick of the whole thing) another campaign would be infinitely more popular than even a fair and honourable peace. It is equally certain that in France the war is so unpopular, the Emperor, even were he not personally inclined to peace, would never venture, merely to gratify our warlike tendencies, to forego this opportunity of terminating it, for it would be doubly odious, when known, that we were the chief obstacle to peace.

Wednesday, January 23.—The Duke of Cambridge, Sir Edmund Lyons, General la Marmora, Dundas, &c., returned here this morning from attending the War Conference at Paris, the sittings therof being closed.

I saw a letter from Windham dated the 8th, stating that the Russian army in the Crimea is well provided with everything. He is waiting with impatience to hear the decision of the two Governments as to the future campaign. He is against our going into Asia, and thinks our success there would be extremely doubtful; but if we decided on doing so, that our first step should be to take Steam possession of the Caspian. He would rather be for making the Gulf of Finland and Poland our *champs de bataille.*

In the evening I saw Flahault, who confirmed all I had heard of the enthusiasm with which the prospect of peace was hailed at Paris, and said nothing could be more ill-judged and even dangerous to the alliance than the tone and language of our Press, which, rightly or wrongly, was believed to be that not only of the people, but of the Government; and that nothing could exceed the ill-feeling which would prevail against England (and it existed to a great degree already) were the belief entertained that France was forced to continue the war for our purposes.

The Austrian Government has been obliged to protest against the interpretation put upon the articles of the Concordat, relating to the Press, by the Italian bishops. I suspect their folly will have entailed upon them an endless source of trouble and annoyance, which they will richly deserve.

Buol declines forwarding to Russia our amended propositions. Palmerston, if attacked in Parliament, must defend himself as best he may, and will probably say he has reserved to himself the right of bringing forward his conditions in the Conference.

Frognal, Thursday, January 24.—I returned here yesterday. Found Lady Webster, Miss Foley; and Charles Clements. E. Sartoris writes to me from Paris, 'People here are in raptures at the thoughts of peace—so much so that I consider a return to war as all but impossible on this side of the Channel. I hardly think the Emperor, with all his obstinacy, could try the experiment, so bitterly would the people

here feel the disappointment. One must never forget that the war was never popular here. The national pride has been amply gratified by the success of the army; the primary object of the war, the destruction of the Russian power in the Black Sea, is attained, and the Cronstadt expedition is considered perfectly unnecessary as far as French interests are concerned; and there is now a very large and increasing class of *rentiers*, who dread a financial crisis much more than Russian encroachments.'

E. Sartoris sees all sorts of people, and is well informed, and I attach weight to his opinions.

Sunday, January 27.—Macaulay, owing to continued bad health, is obliged to retire from Parliament. He now says that he will not be able to continue the history of England beyond the death of Queen Anne. He enters into such minute details, I think it very doubtful if he will even get so far as that epoch.

Cowley, in the name of the Queen, held an investiture of the Bath at Paris. Lady Cowley writes to me that it went off remarkably well. They assembled in the Throne Room: Cowley, she says, did it all with great dignity. There was after the ceremony a dinner of fifty people, at which Prince Napoleon was present and made a good speech on the English alliance when drinking the Queen's health. Cowley also made an excellent one in giving 'La paix,' dwelling on what that peace should be founded to make it durable. I see this last speech is very favourably mentioned by the French

Press, as a contrast to the violent, warlike effusions of our newspapers.

I continue to receive letters from Paris full of the joy which is felt there by all classes at the prospect of peace. People there do not scruple to express their hope of an exchange of a Russian for the English alliance. The Emperor and Empress for the first time in their imperial lives were tremendously cheered at the Opera the other night, which probably meant *Vive la Hausse.* Adelaide Sartoris gives me a droll account of a dinner she had some days ago at Madame Viardot's, with (Ary) Schæffer the painter and his wife, Charles Dickens and his wife, and Mad^e^. Georges Sand. It was amusing to see Mr. Dickens and Madame Sand *aux prises.* Dickens was very funny about the illustrious authoress; her quiet manners and little person were not what he had expected. He said he had always figured her to himself as a sort of glorified monthly nurse. She is short and dumpy, with enormous eyes and a disagreeable mouth—a gentle voice, and, as Dickens said, a gentle manner.

London, Tuesday, January 29.—It seems certain that Paris will be the seat of the Conferences, and it is thought there that matters may be speedily settled. Peace may lead to many unexpected events and changes. I hear Thiers' opinion as to the future is, that if by any convulsion the present Government were to be upset, it would be succeeded by a Republic, more or less sanguinary. He certainly professed the same opinion in September, for I heard him say so; but it can only be mere conjecture, as, whenever such a

crisis arrives, it will be the army that must decide; and it is difficult to believe that, after all that occurred in 1848, the army can be favourable to a Republic.

Bosquet's opinion is that Russia could just have got through another campaign, by which, however, she would have been completely and irretrievably exhausted. At Paris they think Russia has been brought low enough, and they have no wish to knock her down completely.

In a correspondence I had lately with F—— K—— she expressed great sympathy with me for the plight of my eyes, and said that, in return for the many kindnesses I had done her, it would give her great pleasure if at any time she could be of use to me.

To this I replied that I had always entertained a warm regard and affection for her, but that I could not call to mind having done her any kindness or service. To this she answers as follows, and I write it down as being characteristic and charmingly expressed:—

'My dear H. G.—We do not love our friends for what they can do for us. We are grateful to them for that, and are very often more grateful to people whom we do not love and cannot. Affection and sympathy are the only things that can buy their like; and as *kindness* in the many tangible forms that kindness may assume has the value of the mere affection that one human being bestows upon another, I have often been led to reflect on the inestimable

value of the love of friends, who yet are utterly powerless to sway one single circumstance in one's life, avert one sorrow, or lighten one burthen, otherwise than by their love. You know in discussing with you the question of our servants' attachment to us some time ago, I was trying to make you understand that no amount of kindness shown them or service rendered them could possibly purchase their attachment, however much it might their gratitude. There is but one price for human affection, and that is a reciprocal feeling; and it is because for a long series of years you have manifested a very kind feeling towards me, that I necessarily and naturally have the same towards you; and I wish I could be of any use to you, but that is hopeless.'

Friday, February 1.—The Queen opened Parliament yesterday, with a speech which the Opposition considered meagre, but it appeared to me to say all that was necessary on the great topics of the war and the negotiations. Gosford and Abingdon moved and seconded in the House of Lords, and George Byng and Mr. Baxter in the Commons. The former spoke very well, with modesty, ease, and fluency, and he was complimented both by Disraeli and Palmerston. Derby made a clever but surly opposition speech, which Clarendon answered, giving the history of the Austrian mediation, and speaking in a judicious tone likely to have a very good effect at Paris.

The life peerage is making a great stir, and a discussion upon it under the auspices of Lyndhurst is to come on, on Thursday next; and although Derby

expressed a hope that the debate might be carried on without party spirit, a great whip of his adherents is being made. There is so much to be said on both sides of the question, that I look forward with interest to this discussion.

Our relations with America are by no means in a satisfactory state. The Bulwer-Clayton Treaty and the foreign enlistment affair are the ostensible matters in dispute. We have offered to refer the question of the Mosquito Territory to arbitration, which I believe the American Government has declined; and we have made an apology for the enlistment, with which they are not satisfied; and they require that we should recall Crampton, which, as his own Government has approved his conduct, and it has been eulogised in Parliament, we cannot possibly accede to. The American Press is virulent and pugnacious. It is probable that the Government may not be quite so warlike, since Buchanan, the American Minister, has written home to say that if we make peace with Russia, the United States had better '*regarder à deux fois*' before they quarrel with us.

Sunday, February 3.—Baron Martin told me to-day the Government had requested Parke to defer taking his seat, but that there was no doubt the life peerage was *legal*, and had been laid down to be so by Lord Coke. There is some doubt whether there be any precedent for such peer having ever sat in Parliament.

Friday, February 8.—Last night Lyndhurst

brought on his motion to refer the Wensleydale life peerage to a committee of privileges. He spoke with his usual clearness and effect for one hour and a half, though a little tired towards the end. Granville answered him remarkably well. I was dining at the Travellers', whither several peers of both sides came from the House, and were unanimous in his praise. All the Law Lords except the Chancellor were against the patent. The points which told the most against the life peerage were the hereditary principle of the peerage being endangered by it, the fact that there is no precedent for any such peer sitting in Parliament, and the long desuetude. Lyndhurst carried his motion by a majority of *33*.

A son of Joseph Poniatowski (I believe a natural son, but who was *légitimé* like his father) marries Mademoiselle le Hon, who is Morny's daughter. He gives the girl the house he built next door to Madame Litton's Hotel (which, by-the-bye, was considered a great scandal at the time) and a million of francs. The Paris wags say, 'La petite Pologne épouse la grande Bohême.' When Morny was asked if it were true that he had bought of Madame Litton this small hotel, which was nicknamed 'La niche à Fidèle,' he is said to have answered, 'Oui, je le quitte —je la quitte—et je m'acquitte.'

Cobden asked last night for explanations for the non-production of the correspondence with America relating to the differences respecting Central America and the foreign enlistment, which gave Palmerston the opportunity of making an excellent speech, con-

ciliatory, but firm, and in an excellent tone and spirit, and very superior to his ordinary replies in the House.

Tuesday, February 12.—Dined yesterday with Bessborough, E. Ellice, Jem Howards, and Ben Stanley. The Wensleydale peerage is the only topic of conversation, and people are very much excited on the subject. The committee of privileges sat yesterday morning, when after some discussion, and one of the precedents being read, Lord Campbell moved that Lord Wensleydale be permitted to be heard either by himself or by counsel. It is now thought that the *legality* of the measure will be established.

The Duke of Wellington voted with Lyndhurst the other night, and has since tendered his resignation, which was not accepted—very properly, I think, because they don't know whom to appoint in his stead.

Wednesday, February 13.—All the morning with Costa at the rehearsal of his oratorio 'Eli,' at Exeter Hall. I was very much struck by it. It is grand, melodious, and devotional; and it pleased me to see the zeal and anxiety of all the performers to do it justice.

General Bosquet has been named Senator. The French say, 'Quel dommage qu'un si brave soldat accepte une situation civile (si vile)!!'

The report of the Commission of Inquiry sent to the Crimea last spring has just been printed. It is very damaging generally to the administration of the army, and particularly to Airey, the quartermaster-

general, and his assistant, A. Gordon,[1] and also to Lucan and Cardigan, and as these officers have since been honoured in various ways, and received appointments here, a storm of abuse has been heaped upon them by the Press.

Of course they all deny the truth and justice of the report, and demand a further inquiry. Clarendon and Cowley started this morning for Paris. It was Clarendon's wish that the Conference should take place there, whilst the Emperor, Palmerston, and Cowley would have preferred that it should have been held at Brussels. Clarendon thinks it of great importance he should have constant access to the Emperor, and thus be able to counteract other influences; but (as Cowley observes) other parties to the Conference will equally get his Majesty's ear, so that that advantage will be a doubtful one. Be this as it may, there is no denying that the Emperor has made to himself a most extraordinary position, and one which must be flattering to French vanity; as Alfred Potocki (who writes to me from Rome) justly observes, 'Napoléon ne peut que désirer la paix. Des Conférences à Paris, sous les auspices du neveu du grand homme, qui doivent décider de la tranquillité future de l'Europe, voilà un résultat que l'imagination la plus ambitieuse n'aurait pas pu rêver. La lutte qui va s'établir pour obtenir son alliance lui remontera nécessairement au nez, comme les parfums antiques. Il faudra *all the coolness of his head* pour résister à l'encens qu'on va lui prodiguer. Il est le maître de la situation; tous les autres doivent se

[1] Now General Sir Alexander Gordon, K.C.B. (1884).

soumettre, bon gré mal gré. Résultat déplorable pour l'Angleterre, mais qu'il faut constater sans murmurer.'

Meryon, having been employed to find a nurse for the future imperial baby, has received a snuff-box with an N in diamonds. It is said that the Emperor and Empress think an English woman more to be depended upon than a French or Spanish one, and the baby less likely to get a *pinch* from Plon-Plon!!!

I went last night to the first performance of Costa's 'Eli.' The Queen was present with a great *cortège*. The hall was crowded and the success complete. It was admirably sung, and is without doubt full of beauty. The English critics of course endeavour to pull it to pieces, and will not admit the possibility that an Italian should succeed in this style of composition.

February 19.—The Duke of Norfolk died yesterday—suddenly at last, although he had been long ill. Old Braham is also dead, in his eighty-second year. He began his musical career at eleven years old, and was from that time constantly before the public until about ten years ago. He had a tenor voice of prodigious power, and great musical instinct and feeling, and he sang Handel's music very well. He never gave me any pleasure, as he was always vulgar and without any refinement, and his vocalisation was defective; and I feel sure that had he appeared in these days he would not have been the popular singer he was.

The discussion on the life peerage, which stood for last night, was postponed until Friday, 'Lord

Wensleydale having written to the Chancellor, declining to be heard by counsel. Lord Lyndhurst gave notice that he should move a resolution, that it was the opinion of the committee, that neither the patent, nor the writ of summons to Sir J. Parke, could entitle him to sit and vote in Parliament. Derby asked Granville if the Government would propose an amendment; and he answered they had not yet decided. All this mess is said to have been hastily concocted by Palmerston and the Chancellor, and the question of a life peerage was not considered of sufficient importance to be discussed in Cabinet!

Wednesday, February 20.—Lord Glenelg has announced an amendment to Lyndhurst's motion on the life peerage—'That the matter be submitted to the judges;' to which I believe the Government will consent.

Lady Holland writes to me from Paris that 'nothing is left undone to produce a feeling in favour of Russia. Almost all parties see more gain to be obtained by such an alliance than by us. We have nothing to give, and we cannot sow corruption as others do. Our women cannot serve, our authorities cannot give decorations. The Carlists are for Russia from taste, the Orleanists from party-spirit; and I don't suppose the Imperialists will prefer us, because we have nothing to give them; so I hope the Emperor is with us. No one else is.'

Friday, February 22.—There was some conversation in the House of Lords respecting the new Commission appointed to inquire into the report of the

Crimean committee. It is to be composed exclusively of military men who have not been engaged in the Crimea, and who are to examine their witnesses with closed doors. Brougham and Grey pronounced this to be a most irregular and objectionable course; and both agreed that when Government received the report of the Crimean Commission, an opportunity should have been afforded to the officers impugned to defend their conduct before the report was made public.

Derby asked a question on the respective authority of the Minister of War and the Commander-in-Chief; to which Lord Panmure replied that the whole patronage and appointments in the army rested with the latter, but that the Minister of War was responsible, and he had no doubt that he could justify the appointments which he had made.

Saturday, February 23.—Lord Glenelg's amendment as well as Grey's was defeated by a large majority. Lord Lyndhurst spoke for an hour, and as well as usual. It will end in Government having to knock under and make a fresh creation. It has been a very stupid affair from the beginning.

Edward Sartoris writes to me from Paris that there is no greater mistake than to suppose that peace is losing its favour there. On the contrary, a renewal of hostilities on the side of France becomes daily more impossible; and with a large proportion of people peace will be all the pleasanter if it should bring about a slight coolness between the two nations. From the little that drops from the Emperor, he is

represented to profess, that although he is an absolute sovereign, he holds that sovereignty by terms of the national will, which he is bound to consult and follow; that the national will is clearly against the continuance of the war; and that whatever his own feelings may be, he has nothing to do but to act in accordance with the opinion of his people. The alphabetical order of precedence in the Conference was decided upon, after a slight *rumpus*, in which Walewski got kicked on both sides, first by Lord Cowley, who, on being told by Walewski *que, pour faire une politesse à la Russie*, Orloff was to sit on his (Walewski's) right hand, declared that he objected on the part of Clarendon; then by the Emperor, who, on Walewski's referring the matter to him, said he was an ass; that such things *might* be *done*, but never *talked* about. It is generally thought that in consequence of his blunder and his incapacity Walewski will soon be *started*. It is only wonderful that such a man should have occupied such a position.

Monday, February 25.—Met at the Granvilles' last night Lord Glenelg, David Dundas, and Stanley of Alderley. All were as usual engrossed with the Wensleydale case, about which I cannot whip myself up into any interest. It is not likely that Government will make any attempt to reverse the decision of Friday. It would be quite hopeless.

Hatchford, Tuesday, February 26.—An armistice was signed at the first Conference, to last till March 31, but which is not to extend to sea operations. Granville said in the House of Lords last night that Lord

Wensleydale had put himself into he hands of the Government, and would take no further steps until the subject had been maturely considered. Lord Derby announced a motion for Friday next, for a select committee to inquire if it be expedient to make any, and what, provision for the more effectually securing the due administration of the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, and to report thereon.

27 Rue du Faubourg St.-Honoré, Saturday, March 1.—I left London on Thursday with Flahault and Charles, and after a smooth passage slept at Boulogne and came on here yesterday. After dining *tête-à-tête* with the excellent doctor, (the Hollands dined out,) I went to Adelaide Sartoris', where I found Herbert Wilson, Leighton, and other young and good-looking artists, and some ladies whom I did not know, and amongst them Madame Kalergi, a niece of Nesselrode, a tall, large, white-looking woman, who has a reputation for cleverness, and a great talent on the pianoforte. This morning I went to Leighton's studio, and saw his drawings, which are full of genius. In the evening to the Gymnase, to see a tiresome piece by Madame Georges Sand called 'Lucie,' and two very good plays called 'Je dîne chez ma mère,' in which Lafontaine delighted me, and 'Le Camp des Bourgeoises,' the *pièce en vogue*, very droll, and admirably acted.

Called on Lady Cowley. Nothing is known respecting the Conference, the members being of course bound to secrecy; but as Friday was settling day at the Bourse, it was given out that '*tout marche sur*

des roulettes.' To-day there was a *bruit sourd* that this is not the case. Clarendon says that at their present pace the Conferences might last six months, and that up to to-day nothing had been done but the armistice. It is supposed that more progress will be made to-day to enable the Emperor, who opens the Legislative session on Monday, to express his confidence in the favourable termination of the Conference.

Clarendon and Orloff have made a very favourable impression here. Orloff '*est fin comme une mouche*,' and knows how to say all the right things; as, for instance, when the Emperor received him, H.M. said, 'Comte Orloff, vous nous apportez la paix?' to which he replied, '*Sire, je viens la chercher.*' At the Conference Brunnow *porte la parole*, and Orloff only speaks when he is referred to. Lady Cowley tells me they cannot invite the members of the Conference to meet each other, on account of the difficulty as to their respective rank. I was invited to-day to a great dinner at the Embassy, and to a concert at Morny's, but declined on account of my eyes.

When sitting over the fire at Boulogne, Flahault told me all that had passed between him and the Emperor on the subject of the Orleans decrees. At one moment he thought *qu'il l'avait ébranlé*! He entreated him to reverse it; told him that he would have an imperishable renown for doing so, and for this act of justice he would be placed on a higher monument than that on which the statue of his uncle stood. To this the Emperor replied that it was now impossible; that his doing so would be attributed to the weakness of his

position, and this he could not afford. Flahault then said that as he might be considered prejudiced in favour of the House of Orleans, he asked H.M. to allow him to read to him the substance of a conversation he had had with Palmerston before he left London; to which his Majesty acquiesced; and Flahault said nothing could be more strong than Palmerston's opinion, not only against the decree, but also in favour of its speedy reversal. The Emperor listened attentively as F. read to him, but merely repeated that it was impossible *d'en revenir*. It is curious that the decree was ready for publication on December 2, and would have appeared on that day had not the printer of the 'Imprimerie Nationale' positively refused to print it. Flahault said that if it had come forth Morny would at once have thrown up his office, and the *Coup d'état* would have failed.

Sunday, March 2.—Valençay called on me. He is very moderate in his political opinions. I asked him if he went to Court. He said no—that 'quoique cet homme avait rendu de grands services au pays,' the Orleans decrees had made it impossible for him and for many others who would have been disposed to do so. He has put his son into the army and sent him to the East. He deplores the prospect of the birth of an heir to this dynasty, which is only 'une complication de plus.'

Called on Madame de Lieven, who was much more cheerful than when last I was at Paris, but not so confident of peace as I expected to find her. She

says Clarendon pleases everybody, and '*Orloff aussi a beaucoup de succès.*'

Dined at home. In the evening came a M. Masson, *ci-devant* préfet of Amiens, a lively chattering man. Orléaniste—'*mais*' (as he said), '*sans l'ombre d'antipathie personnelle*' to the present *régime*. He said the great misfortune of the Emperor was his *entourage*, the reputation of which through Paris, high and low, was positively *vérèuse*.[1] He believes that amongst the masses the only political *idea* or sentiment is for the name of Napoleon; and that if anything happened to this man, and that a successor were to be chosen by universal suffrage, no one but a Buonaparte would have the least chance of a majority. The great mistake would be, in his opinion, to try the issue by such means.

Monday, March 3.—The Legislative session was opened by the Emperor to-day. The speech had been looked for with the greatest curiosity, as it had been (as I think, absurdly) supposed that the Emperor would announce that terms of peace had been definitely agreed upon. This was obviously impossible; but the speech produced disappointment, and the funds slightly fell. It was, however, a remarkable and clever speech—a clear and concise *résumé* of the past and present state of affairs, done in very good taste. It is considered eminently English, and on that account failed to please the Corps Diplomatique, though perfectly courteous to all other Powers. In the afternoon I called upon the Duchesse de Galliera,

[1] *Véreuse*, suspicious, dishonest.—Ed.

where I found old Duc Pasquier (Chancellor under Louis Philippe), eighty-nine years old, and preserving all his faculties. He gave me the speech to read, and said he thought it '*pacifique, conciliant pour tout le monde, et très digne.*'

Afterwards I went to Madame de Gontaut, whom I found better in all ways than when I was last here. When I told her the speech was thought *très anglais*, she said, 'J'en suis charmée, mais je vous avertis que cela ne sera pas populaire ici;' and added that the *aigreur* was so great against us that it even extended to herself for her known attachment to us; which, however, was a matter of indifference to her, and she always stood up for those who had been *fidèles* to her. 'Quant à l'Empereur,' she said, 'ne le dites pas, car on serait furieux, mais je vous avoue, je l'aime assez.' She is still wonderful for eighty-four; full of zest and vivacity, although her memory occasionally is confused

Tuesday, March 4.—There was a dinner and reception here this evening. The former consisted of the Sebachs—he the Saxon Minister, and she a daughter of Nesselrode; the Rogiers—he the Belgian Minister; Rémusat, young Redoute, whom I last saw in a round jacket; Miss M. Ellice, and Mérimée the author, now a senator. He has a striking face, and seems *caustique*. In the evening a large assembly, consisting chiefly of Spaniards and Italians. Countess Montijo was among the first—jolly, unaffected, and rather vulgar. Countess Castiglione, Oldorni's daughter, whose great beauty is now the topic of conversation. She is strikingly handsome, but with-

out much charm of countenance, and very much too occupied with her own beauty. Thiers was here, and other Orleanists, who, on the entrance of Flahault and Morny, ostentatiously left the room. It was amusing to see the latter, whom I formerly knew as living over the stables in F.'s house, a good-natured, sharpish *freluquet*, now covered with orders and crosses, and, with all the 'circumstances of greatness,' treated obsequiously. He has the reputation of being kind and serviceable to old friends and acquaintances, and thus disarms his opponents. I was, of course, bored to death. I knew nobody, and my sight is so dim that I have not the enjoyment of looking at the people.

Thursday, March 6.—The Pope has by telegraph signified his consent to be godfather to the imperial baby if a boy. The Emperor is very anxious to get His Holiness to come here to baptise the child, but I fancy he will not succeed.

Heard in the morning that Covent Garden Theatre was burnt at seven yesterday morning, and went to announce the event to Mario. In the evening with Adelaide Sartoris and Leighton to Ristori's *rentrée* in 'Mirrha.' She acted more finely than ever, and I was enchanted with her wonderful beauty and classic grace: her tenderness, in this part especially, is indescribable. Adelaide Sartoris had never seen her before, and was as much delighted as astonished at the performance. The audience was in a frenzy of enthusiasm, and yet I do not believe half the people present understood Italian.

Sunday, March 9.—Dined with the Delmars, Madame de Galliera, Henri de Mortemart (whom I had not seen for years, and now become a grandfather), M. de Mérode, M. de Montalembert, and the young Rumbolds; she is *née* Labanoff, and sings very nicely. I sat next to Montalembert, who is agreeable, and takes interest in English politics. He descanted much upon the folly of the life peerage affair, and said it was inconceivable how the Government could be mad enough to weaken the institution of an hereditary peerage, when they had the happiness of possessing it, whilst every other constitutional Government had failed in solving the problem of a 'Second House.' I asked him if he ever went to the Legislative Assembly. He said very rarely. Since the deputies had been paid, which he thought *a clever dodge of the Emperor* to stifle all possible opposition, it was in vain to try and produce any impression on the Assembly which was in any way unfavourable to Government. No member had the right to publish his own speech. The penalty for so doing was 5,000fr. His own speeches had been given to the public *non seulement mutilés, mais dénaturés.* Each deputy is paid 7,500fr. for the three months of the session—a system very popular amongst the members, who are generally mere creatures of the Government, and who enjoy bringing up their wives to Paris at the expense of the same.

He told me that when an election occurs, and that any one offers himself as deputy in opposition to the Government, his name is not allowed to be

printed on the bulletin, so that it is with the utmost difficulty he can make his candidature known; the result being that the election of an Opposition candidate is of very rare occurrence. He said, with some bitterness, he should like to see such a system tried in England for one fortnight, and to see how we took it; and it astonished and provoked him to hear Englishmen constantly wonder *qu'on ne se rallie pas* to such a monstrous state of things, and to hear from them the fulsome praise of the man who set it up, which naturally must disgust the honest and enlightened men of France.

Madame de Rémusat called here the other morning to make her excuses and those of the other Orleanists who so abruptly left the room on Flahault and Morny's entry. She said they all regretted *d'avoir cédé à un premier mouvement*, &c. I suppose it *must* be very disagreeable to find oneself in such close quarters as Lady Holland's *salon* with the man by whose order (and that an illegal one) oneself, or one's husband, has been sent to a prison.

I have just been laughing over the ceremonial which is to be observed on the birth of the imperial baby, and is officially announced in the Moniteur. It is an imitation of such events as described by St. Simon, and supremely ridiculous when the times and the personages are taken into consideration. The persons who are to be present *ex officio* are enumerated, and the *salon* they are each to occupy while awaiting the event. The only men who are actually to be present in the Empress's room are Fould, the

Ministre d'État, and Abbattucci, the *Garde des Sceaux*.

Prince Jérôme is very ill. They tell me that if he dies he will be a loss to the Emperor in various ways.

In the evening to the Gymnase; the 'Fils de Famille'—a pretty piece, admirably acted.

Tuesday, March 11.—Prince Charles de Beauvau came here last night, and told us that all Paris, and even the provinces, were ringing with the extreme absurdity of the ceremonial for the birth of the imperial baby. He believes it to have been suggested by Tascher de la Pagerie, the *Grand Maître des Cérémonies*; but it must have been sanctioned by the Emperor and *sent le parvenu*.

I hear it is probable the Conference will bring their sittings very soon to a close, as the matters on which the great question of peace and war depend are decided upon. The details relating to the Principalities and other points will be submitted to a committee of the Conference, so that the ministers of the different Powers may be released and able to return home. The committee will consist of the resident diplomatic agents of the different States.

Called on Madame de Lieven, and then on the Duchesse d'Istrie, who lives in the same hotel, in the apartment formerly occupied by Madame de Dino. I had not seen Madame d'Istrie for many years. She is still very handsome, and she received me with all the cordiality of an old friend.

In the evening to the Théâtre Lyrique, to hear a

pretty opera called 'Fanchonette,' in which Madame Miolan Carvalhos sang marvellously.

Thursday, March 13.—Bitterly cold—snow falling and lying on the ground. Went last night with the Sartoris's to see Ristori in 'Maria Stuarda.' Her acting was magnificent. It seems to me that she has gained much in power, and has lost none of her pathos or grace. The play was tedious, and I don't think the substitution of the last act by Schiller, instead of the one she formerly acted, at all an improvement. The long scene of the confession, though beautifully acted, is entirely unfitted for dramatic representation, and I should have thought would be more repugnant than it appeared to be to an audience almost entirely composed of Roman Catholics. The exhibition of what is to them a holy sacrament in the midst of all the tinsel and frippery of a theatre, and with whatever semblance of devotion performed, jars against all one's feelings of propriety.

Madame Georges Sand was there, with Lady Monson. She is by no means of an attractive appearance—short, fat, with a large jowl, but has immensely large and expressive eyes.

Friday, March 14.—The Montalemberts, Jumilhacs, Valençay, the Prince de Chalais, M. de Mérode, and Clarendon dined here. In the evening, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, and Mr. Lesseps, who is engaged in the project for cutting the Isthmus of Suez. He is just returned from Cairo, and declares the difficulty of execution to be far less than was expected. Our Government is decidedly against the scheme.

In the morning called on Madame de Gontaut, whose memory was painfully confused. It is very sad to see the decline of that lively intelligence. As is generally the case, it is on the things of the present that her memory is wanting, for she recounted to me some anecdotes of her early life with all her *accustomed* dramatic *verve*.

Saturday, March 15, one o'clock.—Heard just now at the Embassy that the Empress's labour began at five this morning, and was progressing favourably at ten. We are expecting the cannon.

Sunday, March 16.—This morning, at six, the cannon announced in 101 rounds the birth of an imperial prince. From five yesterday to half-past three this morning the different bodies of the State, the household, &c. &c., had been waiting at the palace, sitting *en permanence*. Although I don't care a straw about the matter, and can only consider the birth of this poor child as a fresh complication, I felt some sort of excitement when lying in my bed this morning as the twenty-fifth gun was fired, as another stroke would announce an heir to the imperial dynasty. It is reported that the child is to be *ondoyé* immediately, but that the Pope is to come and christen him in July.

Monday, March 17.—I am struck by the total absence of anything like enthusiasm on this occasion. The streets were generally illuminated last night; but then the police had signified to the inhabitants of the shops and lodging-houses and hotels that it was desirable that they should do so; and in some

cases, and in certain localities (as, for instance, to the landlord of the house occupied by E. Sartoris in the Rue St.-Florentin), they gave notice that, in the event of their not lighting up, their names would be taken down! It rained all night, which always checks enthusiasm, and there were very few people in the streets.

The Empress was very ill, and begged for chloroform, which, as she has some affection of the heart, they would not give her. The Emperor remonstrated with Dubois, the accoucheur, but in vain, and they prevailed upon him (the Emperor) to leave the room until a few moments before the child was born. When the event had taken place the Emperor went into the room adjoining, and announced to the courtiers that he had a son. '*Un garçon*,' he said; '*Mes Dames, je voudrais vous embrasser toutes, mais ne pouvant le faire, je vous embrasse du cœur.*' He was very much overcome.

I believe that everything on which peace or war depended is arranged; and this being the case, Prussia has been invited to take part in the Conference, which is now to occupy itself with details of arrangement. Manteuffel accordingly arrived yesterday.

Brougham dined here yesterday, having just come from London. He thinks Derby is doing much mischief in the life peerage affair, and fears that the result may be that the House of Lords will lose entirely its appellate jurisdiction, which he thinks will be a dangerous blow to that branch of the Legislature.

Wednesday, March 19.—The French newspapers are filled with addresses containing the most fulsome adulation on the birth of the Prince Imperial, really

almost amounting to blasphemy. Yesterday the Emperor received the personal congratulations, first of the Conference *en masse*, and then of the Corps Diplomatique. Cowley told me, Walewski, in very bad taste, took upon himself, as President of the Conference, to make a very bad speech to the Emperor, to which H.M. returned a very pacific reply. After the reception of the Corps Diplomatique, the Nuncio asked that they might be permitted to see the infant; to which H.M. demurred, saying he would not be prepared for the visit; when the Nuncio, much to the disgust of Cowley and Co., said they would wait until H.I.H. was ready! Accordingly, after some delay, the whole Corps Diplomatique were ushered into the apartment of the baby, where they found him in his cradle, decorated with the Legion of Honour, with the military medal lying on his stomach, and attended by his three governesses, aides-de-camp, chamberlains, &c.

The Emperor told the Corps Diplomatique that twenty minutes after the child was born the papal benediction arrived. His Holiness must have sent it on learning by telegram that the business had begun.

I went in the evening to see the Sydneys, just arrived at the Embassy. Flahault was there, and, when walking home with me, said peace was now as good as made. He feared, however, that it would produce a reaction in the feelings of England towards France (by which I infer he considers we shall have expected more from the Emperor than he will have fulfilled *dans notre sens* in the Conference), and he

also fears that the tone and manner in which *we* have conducted the discussions in Conference will by no means have tended to create a good feeling between England and the other Powers. I believe that our Government *is* much dissatisfied with the amount of support given to our views by the Emperor, which falls short of what was promised and expected by us.

I went to-day with Sydney to call on Flahault, who showed us the *grands appartements* of the Palais Législatif, where Morny resides, and which was formerly the Palais Bourbon. It is very magnificent, having been entirely re-decorated and restored to its original state, and is therefore in much better taste, though much smaller, than the adjoining modern palace of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the splendour of which is rather overdone. Flahault told us the Emperor had been greatly pleased with Morny's speech to him, as President of the Corps Législatif, on the birth of the Prince Imperial, and which *was* a very good one. It is singular that, although Morny only finished his speech on the morning of its delivery, and that the Emperor had not seen it, his Majesty's reply was so much *àpropos*, any one might have supposed the speech and the answer to have been arranged together.

Morny's pictures are charming; he has a very fine Rembrandt, several Watteaus, Greuzes, and Metzus.

Friday, March 20.—There is a very curious article in the Times of Tuesday, which has the appearance of being written to prepare the English

public for a disappointment as regards the terms of peace, and I very much suspect we have been thrown over by our 'faithful ally'—though it may not be quite true (albeit suspected) that an understanding was come to between France and Russia, as to what should be demanded of the latter, and agreed upon without our knowledge. This might explain what Flahault said to me respecting the reaction which he feared might take place in the feeling of England towards France and the alliance, whenever the terms of peace became known.

I went last night with Adelaide Sartoris and Leighton to see Ristori in Alfieri's play of 'Rosmunda.' In reading it I was convinced I should be bored by so inflated a rhodomontade, and that the part of Rosmunda, being one of unmitigated fury and violence, was unsuited to an actress whose chief merit seemed to consist in her power of delineating the gentler passions. I was therefore but little prepared for the wonderful effect she produced upon me and on the audience. The play is horrible and offensive, but her manner of rendering this odious part is nothing short of sublime. Her beauty in the costume of the sixth century is beyond all description, and the manner in which she varies the phases of the same passions of hatred and vengeance, and the prodigious power of the whole impersonation, are marvellous. Her acting of the scene in the third act when she tells Ildevaldo that Amalchilde loves Romalda is about the best thing I have seen her do; and the last act, in which she murders her rival, and the way in which she

seizes her and drags her up the steps, is like a whirlwind sweeping everything before it, too terrible almost to witness, and prevented my sleeping all night.

Good Friday, March 21.—When walking by the *guichet* of the Tuileries yesterday, I fell in with a long procession of hack cabs, which I was informed was a new enterprise, and on their way to *be reviewed by the Emperor. C'est bien le cas de le dire—du sublime au ridicule il n'y a qu'un pas.*

Of the harangues to the Emperor, if Morny's was considered to be the best, that of the President of the Senate was decidedly the worst—'Un Discours *Troplong* (his name).' In the course of the speech he spoke of *Grotius.* One of the senators asked a colleague, 'Qui donc était ce Grotius?' 'Ma foi,' answered the senator, 'je ne saurais trop vous dire, mais 'probablement c'était un fameux accoucheur du temps.'

Randon, Governor of Algeria, Canrobert, and Bosquet have been created Marshals of France. The Emperor, having invited them to dine with him on the day of the birth of the Prince Imperial, rose on dessert being brought, and announced it to them by proposing two toasts—the first to the infant prince, and the other 'aux Maréchaux de France,' Randon, &c. &c. Bosquet immediately asked permission of the Emperor to telegraph to his mother this mark of the Imperial favour, and then and there sent the following message:—'Le Maréchal Bosquet à Madame Bosquet, Priez pour l'Empereur!' which was very French, but *pretty.*

Dined at the Embassy. Clarendon, Buol, Hubner, Sydneys, and Airlies. Buol, whom I had not seen for many years, is very little changed. Hubner *a l'air très fin.*

To-day called on Madame de Lieven with Sydney, and found Orloff and Guizot there. The former gave some interesting details of the last hours of the Emperor Nicholas, whose death-bed he attended. He said, 'Soyez sûr que si l'Empereur avait été l'homme qu'on le disait ici, il n'aurait jamais fait une telle mort: on peut flatter les souverains vivants, mais quand tout est fini la flatterie ne sert à rien. Il avait certainement ses défauts, mais de tous les hommes que j'ai jamais connus, il avait la plus belle âme.' His illness, Orloff said, had been quite sudden, and arose from a chill caught at a review. Orloff remembered that the first time he had remarked a change in the Emperor's appearance, and that he coughed, was on his return from the interment of a friend, which happened to take place in the same street and nearly at the same time as the marriage of a person in whom the Emperor took an interest. The Emperor remarked upon the unlucky *rencontre* of a marriage and a funeral. Orloff, on seeing the Emperor suffering, entreated him to 'se soigner,' but in vain. Two or three days afterwards, however, he became so much worse, he was obliged to take to his bed, his lungs being seriously attacked. A short time afterwards, Orloff, on seeing there was no amendment, became alarmed, and asked the doctors their real opinion of the case; and on their admitting

that the Emperor was no better, he suggested that bulletins should be immediately issued, as, if they did not take care, the illness and death of the Emperor would be made known to the public at one and the same time. Orloff was so impressed with the importance of preventing such a possible contingency, that he at once went to the Grand Duc Héritier, and repeated to him what he had said to the physicians.

The Grand Duke admitted all Orloff said, but declined taking upon himself the responsibility; upon which Orloff said it *must* be done at once, and the Empress must be made acquainted with the Emperor's state. This was accordingly done, and it was she who first apprised him of his danger. She sat by his bedside, and whilst talking to him in a serious strain he observed tears to run down her cheeks. He kissed her and begged her to leave the room for a few moments, and to send to him the physicians. On their coming in he questioned them closely as to his real state. They told him that, the remedies to which they had had recourse having failed to bring the relief they had expected from them, they could not conceal from him that his state was most critical. He then ordered them to withdraw, sent for a priest, and having summoned his whole family went through his religious duties with great devotion. This concluded, he took leave of all his family and friends, and amongst the latter there was an old maid-servant of the Empress's whom he kissed in the most affectionate manner. He then ordered that he should never again be spoken to on any worldly affair. So

much was he in earnest that on some general arriving from the seat of war with important despatches, asking to be admitted to his presence, the Emperor refused to see him or hear what he had to say; and on being urged to do so replied, 'Non, je n'appartiens plus à ce monde.' Orloff recounted this with great simplicity, and with a rough emotion that was very striking. Just as he had finished this story Richelieu came in, but we all three soon felt that our absence would be more pleasing to the Princess than our company, and at the first pause we got up and came away. A Baron de Rosenberg was announced, which caused the Princess to make a grimace, and Richelieu to observe, 'Ah, notre manœuvre a manqué.'

Charles tells me that Longman has given Macaulay a draft for 20,000*l.* (and this is not a final settlement) for his History. Such a thing was never before heard of!

Monday, March 24.—When returning yesterday with Sydney and Claremont from Longchamps, which was crowded to excess with equipages in the worst taste, and hack cabs without number, filled with the most hideous women, we met old General Petit, whom Napoleon embraced at Fontainebleau on leaving for Elba, now fallen into second childhood, and led by a footman.

In the evening I went (as I generally do) to Adelaide Sartoris, where I found Bickerton Lyons,[1] French, and Leighton.[2] This latter is a singularly gifted

[1] The present Lord Lyons, our Ambassador at Paris (1884).

[2] The present Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy (1884). His name has occurred once or twice before in the Diary.—Ed.

youth. Besides his talent for painting and drawing, which is already at twenty-four very remarkable, and likely if he lives to place him in the highest rank of modern artists, he appears endowed with an extraordinary facility for anything he attempts to do. He speaks many foreign languages with remarkable fluency, and almost without accent; he is possessed of much musical intelligence, and on matters connected with the art which he has made his particular study and profession his information is very extensive —and I am told by others, better able to judge than myself, that this is the case. With all these qualities, natural and acquired, I never saw a more amiable or *single-hearted* youth.

I hear that Charles Dickens, who was present at the *rentrée* of Ristori in 'Mirrha,' pronounces her to be a *humbug*, and that she will not *go down* in London; and Thackeray's daughter, who went with us one evening to 'Maria Stuarda,' told me that her father did not admire her at all. The first verdict is simply ridiculous, as time will prove. The other is *une affaire de goût, un drôle de goût selon moi.*

As is generally the case at Paris when any opportunity arises, *jeux de mots* are flying about the birth of the *nouveau-né, enfant de France*, of which the following is not a bad specimen :—

Par son grand-père Hollandais,
Par son aïeul Irlandais,
Anglais, dit-on, par alliance,
Espagnol aussi de naissance :
Vous voyez, quelle étrange chance !

Il ne manque à l'enfant de France
Que d'être tant soit peu Français.

Here is another, on Mdlle. le Hon, who marries Mr. Poniatowsky :—

Quel est donc ce visage blond
Qui ressemble à la Reine Hortense?
C'est la fille de Mr. Le Hon,
Morny soit qui mal y pense.

Tuesday, March 25.—Charles writes to me from London that the Government is exceedingly satisfied with all Clarendon has done at Paris, and they are *not* dissatisfied with the peace, and do not intend to take any apologetic tone about it in Parliament, but to defend it on its merits; nor are they apprehensive of its being ill-received by the House of Commons, or by the country in general. The Government considers itself in no danger of being turned out.

Wednesday, March 26.—Went with the Sartoris's, Montfort, and Leighton, to the Palais Bourbon to see Morny's pictures—a charming collection. The Emperor had just sent him two beautiful pieces of Beauvais tapestry—marvellous specimens of that manufacture; in return, I suppose, for his speech of the other day, with which his Majesty was highly pleased.

Called on Madame de Lieven, who showed me a pencil portrait of the Emperor Nicholas, taken after death. From thence, upstairs to see the Duchesse d'Istrie, where I heard that the Empress having expressed a wish to possess the pen with which the plenipotentiaries are to sign the peace, the Emperor had ordered that the finest eagle in the Jardin des Plantes

should be plucked of its best feather, which being *taillée en plume*, is to be used on this occasion, and then handed over to her Majesty—*extremely French.*

Cowley, who dined here with the Sydneys, Richelieu, Valençay, and Flahault, said that the pen, on such occasions, is generally claimed by the framer of the protocols, who of course would waive his right in favour of the Empress Eugénie.[1]

In the evening, again to see Ristori in 'Rosmunda.' More disgusted with the play, but as much pleased with her as ever. Her beauty grows upon me. I never saw so much expression without distortion.

Saturday, March 29.—Dined with Madame de Caraman; met Clarendon, Guizot, Mr. de Laborde, the Montalemberts, Madame de Delmar, &c. Clarendon hurried off to the Tuileries, to assist at the reading of the treaty of peace which is to be signed to-morrow.

I sat at dinner between Madame de Montalembert and Mr. de Laborde—both pleasant people.

The Sardinians are much disappointed at getting nothing substantial by the treaty of peace, and come here to vent their griefs. Italy seems to be in such a dreadful state, particularly the duchy of Parma, where a settled system of assassination prevails, that it would not surprise me if by-and-by Piedmont were to be rewarded by some arrangement in her favour which would affect these ill-governed duchies.

Heard from London that the Wensleydale affair

[1] An eagle's feather pen, believed to have been used by the Emperor, is now in the possession of the Hon. Francis Villiers of the Foreign Office. The other is supposed to have been given to the Empress Eugénie.—Ed.

is settled. Four judicial life peers are to be created, their salaries to be voted by Parliament.

Sunday, March 30.—This day, at two o'clock, the firing of cannon announced to the people of Paris that the treaty of peace had been signed at one in the afternoon at the Foreign Office. Soon afterwards large *affiches* were placarded on all the public buildings and at the corners of the chief streets, with the following announcement copied from the Moniteur:—'La paix a été signée aujourd'hui à une heure au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Les Plénipotentiaires de la France, &c., &c., ont apposé leur signature au Traité qui met fin à la guerre actuelle, et qui, en réglant la question d'Orient, asseoit le repos de l'Europe sur des bases solides et durables.' A second edition of the official paper was eagerly bought by the crowds that filled the streets, who read the welcome news to their companions as they walked along. The feeling of general satisfaction was very evident. At night the town was brilliantly and spontaneously illuminated, and the crowds were immense.

Cavour and his secretary Centurione dined here. The former told us that the eagle's feather had been used for the signature of one or two copies, '*mais qu'on s'est révolté*' against employing it for all, as in that case they never would have got to the end of their labour. Bourqueney took two pens, and, after signing with them, said he should leave them *en héritage* to his children. *Tout cela, depuis la plume d'aigle jusqu'à Bourqueney, sent un peu le Franconi.* Cavour seemed depressed and absent; he was proba-

bly thinking of the *case* he should have to make to his chambers at Turin.

Monday, March 31.—Dined with Madame de Mouchy, who received me with great cordiality; the Duc de Noailles, Flahault, Mrs. Standish, and M. de Verac, who is eighty-eight. Every one seems delighted at peace being made. Afterwards to Mario's benefit, the 'Trovatore,' in which he sang very well; but I don't care for the opera.

Tuesday, April 1.—The Emperor received the garrison of Paris to-day in the Champ de Mars, into which the whole time seemed to have emptied itself. The affair passed off without accident and without enthusiasm. The streets in the afternoon were nearly impassable from the immense crowds on foot and in carriages returning from the Champ de Mars. In the evening the town was again illuminated, and the effect was lovely. The houses had been *pavoisées* all day, and in many places the Russian flag was waving by the side of those of the allies.

I hear from London that great joy had been evinced on the arrival of official news of the signature of peace.

Orloff was much struck by the improvement of the cavalry, both in men and horses, and in the riding. He thought less favourably of the infantry, which appeared to him to be deficient in substance. The majority of the troops reviewed yesterday (amounting to about 36,000 men) were probably of the last conscription.

Wednesday, April 2.—In the morning with Ade-

laide Sartoris, Browning the poet, Cartwright, and Leighton, to the Pourtales Gallery—a charming collection. The pictures that most pleased me were a Paul Veronese, a Rembrandt, and a Greuze. There is also a fine collection of Raphael ware—glass and bronzes. Pourtales has ordered by will that this collection should remain intact for ten years, and then to be sold to the highest bidder.

Thursday, April 3—To-day the Duc de Broglie was received at the Académie in a *séance solennelle*, and it fell to him to make the oration in honour of the last deceased member, St. Aulaire. There had been great curiosity and excitement respecting this speech, as it had been rather expected that de Broglie would take the opportunity of pronouncing a violent philippic against the present Government. In this, however, the public were disappointed. He spoke with great moderation, on the contrary, and with dignity, pronouncing a eulogium on the first Napoleon and the eighteenth Brumaire, as also on Louis Philippe and his sons, to whom he attributed much of the admirable state of the French army. He then proceeded to say that St. Aulaire, who in his sixty-ninth year had retired into private life, 'avait espéré couler en paix ses derniers jours entre sa mère, presque centenaire, mais dont le cœur était plein de jeunesse, et l'épouse, objet de son affection pendant quarante ans, il espérait la terminer entouré d'une postérité nombreuse et charmante à l'ombre d'un Gouvernement heureux, libre et florissant. La Providence en avait disposé autrement. Il ne lui a pas été donné de

mourir à temps. Les malheurs prêts à fondre sur les siens et sur sa patrie ne lui ont pas été épargnés. Avant d'être frappé coup sur coup dans ce qu'il avait de plus cher, il a vu tomber ce Gouvernement qu'il avait honoré et servi dans la maturité de l'âge. Il a vu périr ces institutions généreuses, l'œuvre et l'orgueil de nos belles années. Il a vu le Sanctuaire des Lois assiégé, envahi à main armée, il a vu la Guerre Civile dévaster nos cités. Il a vu les premiers de l'Etat poursuivis, proscrits, fugitifs.' Here he stopped, and said, 'Je m'arrête, messieurs, je n'aurais ni le droit, ni le dessein de poursuivre: ce serait dépasser la mission qui m'est assignée.'

The speech was enthusiastically received, and deserved to be so, as it is full of good feeling as well as of good language. One *mot* was especially happy: '*Le respect du passé est la piété filiale des peuples.*' Nisard replied; but being very unpopular for having changed his politics, no one would listen to him.

Clarendon dined here to-day, and told me the Queen had offered him a marquisate, which he had wisely declined. Cowley has done the same by a viscountcy. The Legion of Honour had been pressed on Clarendon, but he could not possibly take it, the more particularly that it fell to him, by virtue of his office, to refuse permission to all who served under him to accept any foreign orders.

Friday, April 4.—Dined with Morny,—Elys, Sydneys, Hollands, Comte et Comtesse Sclaffoni (she is a relation of the Empress), Comte and Comtesse de Labédoyère, Flahault, Clarendon, Karolyi, and San

Giacomo—a very handsome repast and fine plate—heaps of servants, two in bag-wigs and swords stationed at the entrance of the saloon, besides an enormous porter in the hall, armed with a halberd It was very long and very dull; the pictures lighted up were seen to the greatest advantage. The weather is lovely.

Wednesday, April 9.—It is supposed here that the Italian question is being debated in the Conference. All the French and English newspapers have lately issued articles on the subject.

The Emperor wishes to send Morny ambassador to Russia; and if the Duke of Cambridge goes to the coronation, Prince Napoleon is to be sent from hence, an archduke from Vienna, and the Prince of Prussia from Berlin.

Last night, after a dinner given by a Lady Monson to Adelaide Sartoris, Leighton, and myself, at Philippe's, we adjourned to the first representation of the Italian translation of Legouvé's play of 'Medea'—that in which Rachel refused, after attending rehearsals, to act the principal part, and about which there was a trial. Great curiosity was shown about this performance, and there was a great scramble for places; and although *inserts* for nearly three weeks, we were fobbed off with very bad seats in the orchestra. The play had great success, and that of Ristori was prodigious, but not greater than she deserved. The part is most arduous, full of transitions, and almost always on the full stretch. Her costume was most picturesque, having been designed by Schæffer, and she looked like a figure on an Etruscan vase; and in

no play that I have yet seen her in does she produce more effect than in certain passages of 'Medea.' The audience was wound up to a pitch of frantic enthusiasm. I am always astonished at the effect she produces on the mass of the audience, when I know how few there are who really can follow the play. But whether by means of her countenance, voice, or gestures, she contrives to make all the *nuances* of her acting felt by the public. I expect when she comes to London she will find a vast difference between this excitable and sympathetic audience and that stupid, flat collection of would-be fashionables who will *promener leurs ennuis* at her performances.

Thursday, April 10.—The Times asserts positively that Italian affairs are under discussion in the Conference, and that Cavour has presented a memorial which is receiving serious attention. I do not believe that matters have assumed the tangible shape they are represented to have done by the Times, but there is no doubt that something is going on with regard to the state of Italy in the Conference, and that Cavour is well satisfied with the reception given to his representations. Centurione and Oldoini, both of the Sardinian mission, told me yesterday that Clarendon was all that they could wish, and that the question was on a very good footing. It is curious that Russia is the Power in the Conference most eager to promote the interests of Sardinia and Italy, which of course can only be attributed to their hatred of Austria. It is impossible not to wish that the opportunity of a European congress may be made available to put an

end to the abominations which have so long desolated and degraded Italy. The question is full of difficulty, but it is as well it should be ventilated.

Saturday, April 12.—Last night I paid a visit to Madame de Mouchy, where, amongst other people, was Salvandy, the most ridiculous-looking man I ever saw, but said to be a very able one. He is just now the prime mover of the '*Fusion*,' the advocates of which are highly elated by the visit paid by the Comte de Chambord to Queen Marie Amélie, on which occasion it is *said* (it does not appear quite certain) that each party *a traité l'autre de Majesté*. They imagine this event to be pregnant with consequences. Thiers disapproves of the *Fusion*, and is out of humour with his party for what he calls '*demandant pardon du passé*.' I think it is most probable that the Fusion will have no influence, one way or other, on the future destinies of France; but I cannot imagine but that, in the interests of the two parties, and as a matter of policy, a reconcilement must be advantageous to both. Up to the present moment *l'Imprévu* has always prevailed in political events in France, so that all conjecture as to what may happen in the event of a new crisis is idle; but I should conceive the only chance for the Bourbons is that they at least should be united. The Comte de Chambord seemed to feel this when he said to the Duc de Nemours during his visit at Frohsdorff, '*Si quelque chose arrive, j'ai besoin de vous; si quelque chose arrive, vous avez besoin de moi*.'

I think it very remarkable and curious, that no

one who speaks seriously of the future (at least, no one that I have ever met) seems to have formed the least idea of what will *probably* happen. No one believes in the duration of *this* dynasty, or in the possibility of a regency. Those who have formed any opinion at all on the subject seem inclined to the belief that, were anything to happen to the Emperor, there would be '*une grande secousse*,' and that ultimately the army would decide upon the form of government; and much, therefore, would depend upon the man who might happen to be in chief command. The state of France is wonderful; and, in spite of much material prosperity, I cannot understand how any honest Frenchman, who has the good of his country at heart, can do otherwise than blush for the present and despair for the future. But such is their elasticity of character, and they are so *roués* by constant change, that, except to chatter and dispute about it all, the future state of France appears to be simply an affair of speculation and indifference. In the meanwhile, the Emperor is said to be by no means in good health, and people are struck by a marked change in his appearance within the last few weeks.

Monday, April 14.—The Duc de Broglie was presented to the Emperor (as he was obliged to be) on his reception by the Académie. His Majesty received him with great courtesy, and made him many compliments upon his speech, which he said he had read with great interest, and added, 'J'espère, M. le Duc, que si votre petit-fils hérite de vos talents, et qu'un de ces jours il écrive l'histoire, il fera un

aussi bel éloge du 2 Décembre que vous avez fait du 18 Brumaire.' This was very adroit on the part of H.I.M., and rather a *poser* to de Broglie.

Intense curiosity is felt as to what may be the result of the discussions now going on in the Conference on Italian affairs. I don't think that those who are the most interested in the matter indulge any sanguine hopes. Prince Napoleon dined here on Thursday *en petit comité*. I was not present, but Holland told me he had spoken very sensibly and without any exaggeration on this subject, and said that if no substantial good resulted from the present discussions, one might, considering the favourable opportunity for them, despair of the matter altogether; that England, who acquiesced in rather than wished for peace, might perfectly well have stipulated that some steps should be taken to ameliorate the condition of Italy; that France was *mistress of the position*, and together with England and assisted by Russia, which Power was eager to do anything that would humiliate or annoy Austria, had only to declare to what extent Italian reform should be carried. He much feared, however, that these discussions would merely end in some useless and unmeaning protest, or perhaps in some admonition, which would be '*comme si on chantait*;' and that an opportunity such as might never occur again would be lost for putting an end to a state of things which was disgraceful to Europe. There are those who think that it is not the Emperor's wish or intention that matters in Italy should be thus settled: they say he may permit and

perhaps advocate these discussions, simply because he knows they must lead to disappointment, and perhaps to fresh disturbances, and that, in this event, he would be willing to take the settlement of Italian affairs into his own hands. This is mere conjecture, of course, and I only note it down *for what it is worth.*

Wednesday, April 16.—It is said that when the Emperor made the speech cited above to de Broglie, that he replied, 'Sire, l'histoire en décidera.' Madame de Lieven, on whom I called yesterday, told me she believed this reply had been invented since; because M. de Barante, who was present and had recounted to her what passed immediately afterwards, never mentioned that any such answer had been made by de Broglie. She amused me by telling me she had said to Guizot: 'Vous me pardonnerez, mais je crois que tous les Français, *avec quelques exceptions*, mentent, et je crois que c'est M. de Broglie qui a menti cette fois.' 'Ah, Princesse,' said Guizot, 'peut-être un Français mentira comme un autre, mais si M. de Broglie a dit qu'il a répondu ainsi, vous pouvez le croire.'

'Qu'auriez-vous répondu?' said Madame de Lieven.

'Ma foi,' replied Guizot, 'puisque de Broglie a voulu dans son discours faire une comparaison des deux Napoléons, et qui n'était pas trop à l'avantage de celui-ci, et puisque l'Empereur actuel a eu, par sa réponse, sa petite vengeance, et qu'ainsi ils étaient quittes, je n'aurais pas répondu.'

On the other hand, some one asked Thiers what *he* would have said, and that he replied, 'Que sais-je, moi! J'aurais dit, Qui est-ce qui peut répondre de son petit-fils, sire!' This is very characteristic of the two men. Madame de Lieven spoke a good deal of Talleyrand. I reminded her how she and I were almost the last people who saw him before his fatal illness; and on my referring to his memoirs, and regretting that we should not live to read them, she said, 'Sans doute, ils seront amusants, mais ils ne seront rien moins que vrais. Ils auront été arrangés et confectionnés, et on aura supprimé tout ce qui peut être défavorable à sa mémoire.'

After seeing Ristori for the second time in 'Medea,' and being more than ever delighted, I adjourned to Adelaide Sartoris' at Meurice's hotel, where we found Coutts Lindsay just come from his command of the Italian Legion at Malta, and on his way to England to try and prevent its disbandment. He is probably too late. He is a pleasant man, with a great deal of talent.

Thursday, April 17.—The Congress was closed yesterday. The material results remain to be seen. One of the moral features of it has been the undisguised reciprocal hatred of Austria and Russia; another, the extraordinary '*ineptie*' and incapacity of Walewski, which is universally admitted and commented upon.

This afternoon I met Claremont in the Court of the Embassy, who gave me the appalling intelligence of Cowper's death! I hastened to Lady Cowley, who

told me that Clarendon had received a telegraphic despatch the evening before, merely stating the fact that C. had died suddenly that morning. Although there could be no doubt of this most deplorable event, I could hardly believe it, for it was only yesterday that I had received a letter from Lady Cowper full of jokes, and speaking of a dinner-party they were to have on the following day.

Friday, April 18.—Details from my sister, from Lady Shelburne and Sydney reached me this morning, of this most miserable event. Shelburnes, Sydneys, and other friends were dining in Stanhope Street, when a telegraph arrived from Maidstone, whither poor C. had gone in the morning on some county business, with the intention of returning for dinner, summoning Lady C. to proceed there. She started almost immediately, but, alas! arrived too late. So great a tragedy has rarely occurred in our circle. Besides that he was one of the most charming and amiable men I ever knew, and adored by his whole family, his house was the centre and constant resort of a circle of intimate friends, and almost the only *point de réunion* of this kind that I know of. As for myself, I lose a friend of twenty years, whose house has been quite a home to me ever since he married. I cannot describe my grief at this most sad event.

April 19.—Heard that the rupture of a vessel near the heart was the cause of death.

London, April 24.—I returned here on the 22nd. On arriving was much distressed to find news of my mother being very unwell, and that my poor dear

old friend Lady Wharncliffe[1] was at the point of death. The former is mending, the latter expired on the 23rd. Another old and valued friend gone!—in whose society I have passed so much pleasant time from my earliest youth, and from whom I have experienced such unremitting kindness. She had a charm quite peculiar to herself, a natural grace of mind and manner, a gentleness without insipidity, and a perfect *naturel*, which she preserved to the last—and which are far more delightful and attaching than transcendant beauty or brilliant wit. I shall miss her much and often!

Went yesterday to Colnaghi's, to see Leighton's picture of Romeo and Juliet, with which I was much pleased. Colnaghi tells me it is much admired, and said, 'Young Leighton will, one day, be a very great man.'

Monday, April 28.—Confined to the house by violent cough and sore throat. Ellesmere, Granville, Tom Ashburnham, and others called here. E. tells me Sir Edmund Lyons is very anxious to get a peerage; but Lord Panmure objects, on the ground that he has won no battle. It is, however, known to the Government and to the naval and military profession that the success of the Crimean expedition is in a great degree owing to the admirable manner in which the embarkation and landing of the troops was conducted under his auspices, and his friends think that such a mark of favour would not be

[1] Lady Caroline Elizabeth Mary Crichton, daughter of John, 1st Earl of Erne.

cavilled at, though forming an exception to the general rule observed with regard to such rewards.

Granville, who met Ellesmere here, asked him to move an address of congratulation to the Crown on the restoration of peace. He agreed to do so, and Glenelg is to second it. Penelope Bentinck came here from the Chelsea commission, where she heard Lucan make his defence. It appears to have been very successful.

Nothing but harm, however, can arise from this Crimean commission, the effect of which on the Continent will be disadvantageous to us in many respects.

The ratification of the treaty of peace was brought to London this morning by Stuart of the Paris embassy, and laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament this evening. A day of thanksgiving has been proclaimed, and public rejoicings are to take place.

Palmerston and Lord Fortescue are to have the two vacant garters.

Wednesday, April 30.—The ceremony of the proclamation of peace took place yesterday, and was a shabby and ludicrous affair. The Duke of Norfolk was telegraphed for at Arundel, but too late to admit of his officiating; and on coming up to attend the Queen's Drawing Room was stopped on his way from the station by his own procession, and the policeman not believing his assurance that he was Earl Marshal, he had to alight from the cab and sneak into Norfolk House as best he could. At Temple

Bar and in some other places the proclamation was hissed.

Malmesbury withdrew his motion on the fall of Kars last night, on the somewhat singular pretext that the discussion appointed to take place on Monday on the treaty of peace had rendered it useless. The real reason probably is that the debate on the same subject in the other House has fallen flat, and no party advantage is likely to arise from it.

Lord Lyndhurst has also postponed indefinitely his motion on the state of Italy, at Clarendon's desire, on the ground that such a debate would be injurious to the cause Lord L. professes to have at heart.

Thursday, May 1.—Still confined to the house by violent cold, cough, and sore throat. The weather terribly cold for the season. Thermometer at 48 at two o'clock.

Brunnow is come to announce the accession of Alexander II.

Sunday, May 4.—Yesterday I had numerous visitors: Lady Ailesbury, very handsome in her simple widow's gear; George Byng, who told me that Palmerston had greatly pleased the party by his frank and cordial demeanour at the late meeting of the members of the House of Commons. Neither John Russell nor any Peelite attended. The former is offended by the manner in which his Education Bill was treated by the Government, but he nevertheless made a strong speech in their favour on the Kars motion.

Karolyi called on me to-day, much elated at the

separate article signed by France, Austria, and England, guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Dominions, and declaring any infringement of the letter or spirit of the Treaty of Paris a *casus belli*. He thinks this has been a disagreeable surprise to Russia.

Holland, who is here for a few days, tells me Cavour was much pleased with his visit to London, with our Government, and especially with the Queen, who was warm in her expressions of interest in Piedmont and the Italian cause. Cavour thinks himself in no danger of falling.

Tuesday, May 6.—Last night, addresses in both Houses were moved to congratulate Her Majesty on the conclusion of peace. In the Lords by Ellesmere, who made a very pretty speech, with a touching eulogy of Raglan, which was well received by the House; he was seconded by Lord Glenelg. Malmesbury made a long captious speech, which was perfectly well answered by Clarendon. No man has been more raised by passing events than Clarendon, or has got more deserved praise from men of all parties. Derby's speech was mischievous, and (what his speeches seldom are) ineffective. The debate in the Commons, where E. Denison and Henry Herbert moved and seconded, and which was very dull, was adjourned until to-day.

A letter from Leighton, in answer to mine preparing him for the failure of his picture in the Exhibition, says: 'Whatever I may have felt about my little bankruptcy, there is no fear of its disabling me for work, for if I am impressionable I am also obstinate;

and, with God's will, I will one day stride over the necks of the *penny-a-liners*, that they may not have the triumph of having bawled me down before I have had time to be heard.'

This is the wholesome and sensible way of taking a check, and I have so much faith in his talent and perseverance, that I do not doubt, if his health and eyesight be spared to him, that he will be as good as his word, and do great things.

Thursday, May 8.—In the memory of man I don't suppose there was ever seen a worse day in May than yesterday. A hurricane of north-east wind, with torrents of rain, and so intensely cold that no amount of clothing sufficed to keep one's blood in circulation. The coachmen could not keep their hats on their heads. To-day, notwithstanding all the rain which has fallen, it is as cold as ever.

The debate on the treaty of peace in the House of Commons ended on Tuesday. Sidney Herbert made a very good speech, and showed that much (if not all) of our shortcomings was to be attributed to our relations with our ally, which made single-handed action impossible. Palmerston rose at half-past twelve, and spoke for two hours in an excellent tone and spirit—which at seventy-one was gallant.

The Queen gave a great dinner to Brunnow on Tuesday, to which she invited the Persignys and all the chiefs of all parties—Aberdeen, John Russell, Clarendon, Derbys, and Grahams. Brunnow sat next to her on this occasion, which I suppose must have been *arranged* with Persigny. The Queen said to

my sister, who dined there, '*You see we have the happy family.*' In no other country, I believe, could such an amalgamation of parties be possible. This, in fact, is the result of the strength of our institutions, and the attachment to them of all classes of politicians, who are divided only by minor differences of opinion, and not, as in neighbouring States, torn and distracted by conflicting principles, the carrying out of which entails a general convulsion.

Friday, May 9.—The new ball-room at Buckingham Palace was opened last night, the decorations of which are in execrable taste.

Palmerston announced in the House of Commons that Her Majesty had conferred a pension of 1,000*l.* per annum and a baronetcy on General Williams, with the designation of Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars. Clarendon on the former evening read to the House of Lords a letter from Williams eulogising the great kindness of General Mourroff to himself and the garrison of Kars.

Lord Wodehouse is appointed minister to St. Petersburg, which the Times approves as 'a step in the right direction' (I don't know why), and which the diplomatic service will consider a great hardship.

It is usual to appoint an Under Secretary of State to a Legation, but not to the most important one, which that of St. Petersburg must be considered.

Monday, May 12.—The Queen went on Friday, attended by her Court *in uniform*, to the Crystal Palace, to assist at the unveiling of a fac-simile (in *carton*, I believe) of Marochetti's monument for

Scutari, and also of a peace trophy of his invention. This ceremony was performed with the accompaniment of appropriate music, Her Majesty being seated on a dais, surrounded by her Court and escorted by some Crimean soldiers. It was a bad day, and the ceremony was extremely ridiculous.

Interpellations in the Belgian chambers have taken place respecting the demands made by Walewski in the name of the Imperial Government for a coercion of the Press. Vilain XIV., the Minister for Foreign Affairs, proclaimed that he would not submit to the pretension of any foreign Power to dictate a change in the Constitution. This was received with great enthusiasm, and there has since been a public demonstration to thank the ministers for their energetic and patriotic declaration. The minister said that the protocol alluded to had not been officially communicated to the Government; but, whenever it should be so, the answer was ready.

Belgium has a very difficult part to play, the guarantee of its independence having been accompanied by the obligation of neutrality, which in her case extends to special liabilities; and it is natural that she should be much exasperated by the fact asserted by Vilain XIV., that no communication has been made to them on the subject of the Press, and that they are aware the French Government has found other means, not only of placing a control on the Belgian Press, but even of using it for its own purposes, neutrality notwithstanding. Cavour has made his statement to the Piedmontese Chambers,

and it was very well received. The Sardinian protest, dated the 10th of April, which was presented to the Paris Conference, has been given to the public. It is a very bold document, calling upon France and England to assist in putting an end to the foreign occupation of Italy, which it declares to be the cause as well as the effect of the distracted state of that country. It proclaims that Austria was the cause of the check which the Italian question met with in the Congress, and that Sardinia, left to herself, may be constrained to take extreme measures of defence, the consequences of which are incalculable. Cavour, in his speech, stated that the British plenipotentiary had given his warmest and most unhesitating support to his representations, whilst France admitted the principle, '*mais en laissant des réserves sur l'application.*' He said the Governments of Austria and Piedmont were as far off as ever from an agreement on political subjects, and that Sardinia, in proclaiming her national policy, and in taking into her hands the cause of Italy, understood, '*toute la prudence que lui imposait cette mission, et qu'elle saurait allier la réserve à l'énergie.*'

Wednesday, May 14.—For the last few weeks, the Government, with a view to the decrease of drunkenness and the frequenting of public-houses, has given permission for the playing of military bands in the various parks on Sunday afternoons, between the hours of four and six, and which was so popular that enormous crowds of people have been attracted there, who have conducted themselves in the most orderly

manner (above 250,000 were assembled in the three parks last Sunday). This, as might be expected, has given great umbrage to Exeter Hall and the Sabbatarians, who denounce the attempt thus to humanise and amuse the people as a monstrous sacrilege, and have left no stone unturned to put a stop to it. I regret to say their efforts have been attended with success. The Archbishop of Canterbury having addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston protesting against the playing of the bands, on religious grounds, the Cabinet, after two hours' deliberation, determined to give way. They were aware that on Kinnaird's motion on the subject in the House of Commons they would have been beaten by at least three to one, and they had ascertained that the agitation against it from Exeter Hall, which is the centre of the Sabbatarian organisation throughout all the boroughs, was so strong, no member, in a general election, who would not pledge himself to vote against this permission would have a chance of re-election! The Government however, cuts a wretched figure in the matter, for whilst they yield to the clamour, they proclaim that their opinion is all the other way and remains unchanged by the arguments of the Archbishop. It would have been better that they should have ascertained the feeling of the majority before so ostentatiously sanctioning the proceeding, unless they were resolved not to give way. At any rate they had better have thrown the odium of defeat upon the House of Commons, and have permitted Kinnaird's motion to come on. I think it very likely the Sabba-

tarians will gain fresh courage by this success, and begin a crusade against Sunday travelling, the opening of clubs, &c., and that a war may ensue by which true religion will suffer more than it can gain.

Sunday, May 18.—I never recollect such a miserable month of May as this has been. Up to Monday last a north-east wind of extreme violence has prevailed for many weeks, and on that day there was so dense and black a fog it was necessary to light the gas and candles to dress by. Since that, storms of wind and rain have prevailed, and the sky is constantly dark and murky.

The long pending trial of William Palmer of Rugeley, for the poisoning of Cook, and which had been removed from Staffordshire to the Central Criminal Court of London, began on Wednesday. This case has excited prodigious interest, and immense crowds were waiting outside the Court with the hope of gaining admittance, which, however, was granted only to those who had previously obtained tickets. The judges are Lord Campbell, Alderson, and Cresswell. The counsel for the Crown are the Attorney-General Cockburn, and E. James; in the defence, Serjeant Shee, Grove, Q.C., and Kenealy. Lord Grey, who has been present every day, told me the Attorney-General's speech was a most masterly statement of a very curious and complicated case. It lasted four and a half hours. In the early part of his narrative, after reminding the jury that their duty was to be impartial (one of them having declined to serve, on the plea of being pre-

judiced) he said the case he should urge against Palmer was that, being in desperate circumstances, with ruin, disgrace, and punishment staring him in the face, which could only be averted by means of money, he took advantage of his intimacy with Cook, when he had become the winner of a considerable sum, to destroy him in order to obtain possession of his money. Strychnine was the poison alleged to have been used, the effect of which Palmer was intimately acquainted with, having studied chemistry and practised as a surgeon. Up to the present moment the evidence has gone entirely against the prisoner, and the general opinion is that he will be convicted. The details of Cook's death are very horrible, and the coolness which Palmer appears to have shown in constantly administering doses of poison, whenever he was sent for to relieve the agonies of the dying man, is as curious as it is diabolical. He has preserved a very tranquil deportment throughout the trial.

The affair of the Sunday bands continues to occupy public attention. Meetings are getting up in various places in opposition to the Sabbatarian movement. At the Athenæum Club 300*l.* has been subscribed to provide a private band, which is to play somewhere for the diversion of the people. In the meantime a row is expected to-day, although nearly the whole Press has urgently entreated the public to abstain from all disturbance, promising their aid in endeavouring to get the prohibition reversed. The Scotch members deny that any pressure has been

used on the part of their constituents, or that they have in any way interfered in the matter. The weather is so bad that I dare say there will be no gathering of any importance.

From Paris I hear that Russia has taken great umbrage at the separate treaty between Austria, France, and England, guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, which, with good reason, they consider a mark of distrust by no means justified by their straightforward conduct in the Conference.

Hübner has been named ambassador at Paris, which, as he is a man of low birth, shocks the aristocratic society of Vienna. Bourqueney is of course raised to a similar rank. The Emperor of Austria has sent his brother the Archduke Maximilian to pay a visit at the Tuileries.

Monday, May 19.—There was no disturbance yesterday—owing very likely to the storms of hail and rain prevalent all day.

Poor Adolphus Fitzclarence died on Saturday night at Sir George Wombwell's in Yorkshire. He was seized with an attack of paralysis whilst at luncheon on the preceding Thursday, which was quickly succeeded by others, and terminated his existence without suffering. He was a kind-hearted soul—not without a certain degree of cleverness and humour—was very convivial and popular, and will be missed in society.

Wednesday, May 21.—Called on Lady Granville, who told me Granville is appointed ambassador extraordinary to Russia for the coronation.

The Queen had expressed her anxiety that he should accept the office, provided it were not detrimental to his health. He is to go first to Carlsbad, and from thence to Moscow. The appointment is a judicious one, and generally approved. The Times advocates liberality on the part of the Government —the good return, I suppose, that D. makes for Granville's hospitality.

Henry Bulwer having refused the Government of Australia, Sir H. Barkley has been appointed. He has had two Governments in the West Indies, and has done well in both; so that a better choice for a difficult post could not, probably, have been made. George Lewis produced his Budget on Monday, and seems to have met with success; his statement was praised for its clearness.

Friday, April 23.—Serjeant Shee's speech in defence of Palmer occupied eight hours, and was very powerful and ingenious. He called a vast number of medical men, who in some degree contradicted the opinions of those who were called for the prosecution as to the effect of stryehnine. The Serjeant was also very skilful in his attempt to prove that Palmer could have no motive for poisoning Cook, but, on the contrary, that it was more advantageous to him that he should live.

Lord Lyndhurst has given up his intended motion on the Italian question.

Sunday, May 25.—Yesterday the Attorney-General replied to Serjeant Shee's speech. Sydney, who was present, told me he thought he had quite

demolished Shee's case. Lord Campbell is to sum up to-morrow. Nothing can exceed the composure of Palmer, who is said to be more like a well-fed butler than an accomplished murderer. I met at dinner to-day, at Granville's, the Apponyis, who, lately appointed here, have made a very favourable impression.

Wednesday, May 28.—Lord Campbell began his summing-up on Monday, and concluded it on Tuesday at two o'clock. The jury retired for one hour and seventeen minutes, and then brought in a verdict of guilty against Palmer. He received it, as Gifford, who was there, told me, without the slightest emotion. Last night, when on his removal to Stafford (where he is to be executed), dressed in a felon's garb and chained to a gaoler, he was recognised at the station by the mob and hooted. Stevens, the father-in-law of Cook, has no doubt that Palmer tried to poison him when they were travelling together by railway. Palmer pressed him to drink some coffee, which, on Stevens declining, he saw Palmer throw away. He thinks Palmer had no desire to procure his death, but to make him so ill as to incapacitate him from in any way acting or inquiring into Cook's death and affairs.

Friday, May 30.—Yesterday the rejoicings for the peace took place. The crowds attracted to the different points on which the fireworks were to be displayed were beyond all former precedent. The scene from the windows of Bridgewater House was most curious. That immense space was like a black

sea of rolling heads, and I hear the other two parks were quite as full. All the thoroughfares were blocked up by vans and waggons filled with people from the country. All the roofs of the houses were alive with people. The fireworks were very indifferent. When they were concluded, this enormous mass of people proceeded to view the illuminations, and for an hour or two it was quite impossible to get through the dense and compact throng. Every one seemed in good humour, and I have heard of no disturbance or accident.

Saturday, May 31.—The Appellate Jurisdiction Bill was read a second time last night in the House of Lords. It is founded on the recommendation of the committee that, 'to improve the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, the Crown should have power to grant life peerages to two lawyers, who at a salary of 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* per annum should fill the office of deputy speakers and assist the Chancellor in the discharge of judicial business.' This may be a good measure, but it does not get rid of the difficulty of Lord Wensleydale's creation, for he declines the office held out to him. He says he does not want the additional 1,000*l.* to his present pension, and that, in accepting the peerage, he never contemplated making himself the paid slave of the House of Lords.

There was a discussion the other night in the House of Lords between Elgin and Clarendon on the reported movement of troops in America and on our relations with that country. The Government

considered Elgin's speech embarrassing and indiscreet. Clarendon said this country had exhausted offers of reparation for any grievance real or imaginary, but professed his willingness (with reference to the remark of a distinguished American to himself, viz., that he and Mr. Marcy could settle the question between them in half an hour) to go halfway across the Atlantic to meet Mr. Marcy on some island where the reconciliation might be effected, if he could only discover such an island.

The news from America is far from being satisfactory—and the reported recognition of Walker, the *de facto* governor of Nicaragua, by the United States, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, will, if true, more and more embroil matters between the two Governments.

Thursday, June 5.—Last night Ristori made her first appearance in London at the Lyceum in 'Medea.' The audience seemed to appreciate her, better than I expected. They did not of course seize all the points, but they listened with great attention, and at the end of each act applauded her with enthusiasm.

There have been some tremendous inundations in France. In Lyons alone, 20,000 people have been left without house or property of any kind, and all through the south the losses are enormous. The Emperor started off at once *incog.* to visit all the places where the disaster had occurred, and to administer relief. This was a politic as well as a benevolent act on his part, and has produced a very good effect.

It was reported to-day and believed that Crampton had received his passports and removed to Toronto. Our Press advocates forbearance on our part, and deprecates the idea of war.

The Austrian Note to the Italian Governmcnt, in reply to the 'accusations and reclamations' of Cavour in the Paris Conference, has been published in the Augsburg Gazette. It is a very indignant document, and, after making a *résumé* of the Sardinian protest of April 16, it invokes the independence of the Italian States, and denies the right of Piedmont to speak in the name of Italy—attempts to rebut all her charges, and to throw back on Piedmont the responsibility of the foreign occupation, which Austria declares is forced on Italy by the encouragement given by Piedmont to the revolutionary cause. It ends by declaring 'Que; bien éloignés de nous laisser détourner de la direction de notre conduite par une sortie inqualifiable, qui, nous l'accordons volontiers, a été amenée par le besoin d'une victoire parlementaire, nous attendrons de pied ferme les événemens, convaincus que l'attitude des Gouvernemens Italiens qui, comme nous, ont été l'objet des attaques du Comte Cavour, ne différera pas de la nôtre.'

All this angry recrimination will not facilitate the cause the allies have, or pretend to have, at heart.

Tuesday, June 10.—My old friend de Breme, who, as President of the Academy of Arts at Turin, has been sent over to present to the Queen the picture of the King of Sardinia, paid me a long visit yesterday. He

told me that nothing could be worse than the relations between Austria and Piedmont; that the Government was strong, and Cavour inspired great respect and confidence, and the only thing that could arrest the natural course of events and the reforms and regeneration of Italy, would be any immediate outburst of the Mazzinian and revolutionary party, than which Austria desired nothing so much, and which it would require great prudence and discretion on the part of the Government to prevent. The King, he says, is loyal and straightforward, and has the good of his country at heart.

Alfred Paget's yacht was run down and sunk the other night off the South Foreland by a Belgian steamer. I met him at dinner last night at Sydney's, when he showed me a letter from Phipps written by command of the Queen, offering H.M.'s condolence on his loss, and, after a gratifying allusion to his long and faithful services, transmitting to him 500*l.* towards repairing it, which the Queen requests him to accept, adding that he can have no delicacy in doing so, as her faithful subject and servant. It is impossible to do a kind thing with more grace.

Saturday, June 14.—Mr. Marcy's despatch, containing the reasons of the American Cabinet for dismissing Crampton and the three consuls, has arrived. It is addressed to Dallas, and is a long and minute account of the rise and progress of this unfortunate business; and it lays the whole blame on Crampton, whose conduct they tax with indecorum, if not dishonesty; and they declare his

presence, which has become offensive to the Cabinet of the United States, will be an obstacle to a good understanding for the future. The question therefore is put on grounds personal to Crampton, and the American Cabinet disclaims all intention of discourtesy towards England. It now remains to be considered how the matter shall be treated. The case is much complicated by the act of Crampton's dismissal being not only coupled with expressions of good will towards our Government, but also with substantial concessions on the Central American question—viz., the proposal that Mr. Dallas shall terminate the dispute with us by direct negotiation, and, this failing, that it shall be submitted to arbitration. We have therefore to decide whether we will pocket the affront and close with an advantageous offer, or dismiss Mr. Dallas and stand by our minister and maintain our dignity. The matter is one of no small difficulty.

Last night I dined with the Granvilles to meet Madame Ristori, and sat next to her husband, the Marquis Capranica del Grillo, a pleasing little man, who at once imparted to me all their pecuniary and professional concerns. She is engaged by Gye for three years, for two months in each year. He pays her company 40*l.* per night, and then shares the receipts with her. Although very thin, she is still very handsome, and her countenance is full of animation; she has also distinguished and graceful manners, and made a very favourable impression upon the company, which consisted of Lords Lansdowne, Westmoreland, and Lincoln, Lady Marian Alford,

&c. &c. The Duke of Devonshire was wheeled in after dinner. The first time I have seen him, since his paralytic attack, out of his own house.

Tuesday, June 17.—Last night Government announced in both Houses that it was not their intention to break off diplomatic relations with the United States. This was loudly cheered by both sides of the Houses, although Derby said that, although he personally rejoiced to hear this determination, since he considered Crampton's conduct unjustifiable, we had acknowledged our error at the expense of national humiliation.

Clarendon begged the House not to follow Derby's example in prejudging the case.

I met Claremont at dinner at Sydney's yesterday; he was just come from Paris, having been present at the baptism of the Prince Imperial, which, he said, was a very gorgeous spectacle. The Grande Duchesse Stephanie stood sponsor for the Queen of Sweden. The Duke and Duchess of Hamilton had places assigned to them, both in the *cortège* and in the cathedral, as members of the *Famille Civile de l'Empereur*!!

The baby had a *cortège* of his own, and at each *portière* rode the Marshals Canrobert and Bosquet, which was supposed to signify that the Emperor confided the care of his son to the army.

In the cathedral the child was put into the hands of the Empress, who gave him to the Emperor, when he was by H.M. delivered to the cardinal, on which he set up a prodigious caterwauling, and the Parisians

remarked, 'On voit bien que le pauvre enfant n'a pas trop envie de se fier au clergé.' The Emperor and Empress drove about at night to see the illuminations, and were well received.

Wednesday, June 25.—Having been confined for several days by one of the most severe and painful attacks of lumbago I ever endured in my life, I have seen no one.

Crampton is arrived. The newspapers are generally inclined to blame him for what has lately occurred in America. The Queen, however, received him with marked cordiality. Sir Edmund Lyons has got his peerage, and was gazetted last night as Baron Lyons.

A senatus consultus has appeared in the Moniteur, submitting to the senate a Regency Law for France, and nominating the Empress, Regent, to be assisted by a council. This follows the precedent of the First Empire, but nevertheless Prince Jérôme and his son have taken great offence. The latter is making a tour of the English ports.

The Regent of Baden, who is to marry the daughter of the Prince of Prussia, has been here, and on Sunday Prince Oscar of Sweden arrived.

There has been published in the Moniteur 'l'Exposé des motifs d'un projet de loi,' for inscribing in 'le Grand Livre de France' the *dette* of 600,000 francs, in favour of the heirs of the Queen of the Belgians, the Princesse Clementine, and the heirs of the Duchesse Marie de Würtemberg. This is to restore to those children of Louis Philippe the 'Dots' which they lost by virtue of the infamous Orleans decree of

January 1852. And the 'Exposé' invokes the international character of the conventions entered into on the marriages of these princesses, and the 'Traité du 30 mars, appelé sans doute à renouer, à créer même des relations d'amitié entre les souverains de l'Europe.' I am curious to know whether the Emperor has been induced to do this act of tardy justice by anything said to him by our Queen, who, when at Paris, not only asked him why he had issued this odious decree, but also suggested to him, now that he was so powerful, to revoke it, but to which appeal he made no reply. This I know to be a fact.

It will be curious to see if any of these personages will condescend to avail themselves of this act of justice, though it is conferred rather as an act of favour and on special grounds.

Saturday, June 28.—The Duke of Wellington has entrusted a Mr. Montgomery Martin with the whole mass of the late Duke's papers for arrangement and immediate publication. I have heard that this gentleman is not endowed with the tact, taste, and discretion necessary to enable him to fulfil a task of such infinite responsibility and difficulty; but I don't know how this may be. I think, however, it is strange that the late Duke did not act as Sir R. Peel did with regard to his papers, and select during his life and designate by will such persons as he might deem fit to take charge of his papers at his death, and not leave them to be dealt with entirely and solely by so eccentric a man as his son.

Sunday, June 29.—Charles Wellesley called on me

to-day with Algy. The cheerful way in which he bears his great calamity is the most admirable thing in the world![1] He had been to Savernake to try if *he could manage to fish* in the river there, and he thinks he should have succeeded, with the aid of an old servant, had the weather been favourable to the sport. He thinks Mr. Martin, who was engaged in the arrangement of Lord Wellesley's papers, was likely to perform the task now entrusted to him satisfactorily. Douro exercised a strict supervision, and no paper, on any pretext whatever, was to be removed from the house.

Monday, June 30.—The subscriptions in France for the aid of the sufferers by the inundations already amount to more than four millions of francs. The contributions from this country are by no means inconsiderable, 20,000*l.* having been subscribed in London alone, and nearly as much in the provinces, and, considering that this is entirely spontaneous, it is very creditable.

Mademoiselle Johanna Wagner, the German singer, about whom there was a lawsuit between the managers of the rival theatres, is now singing at the Haymarket Opera, and with no success. She is very little worth all the fuss that was made about her.

Tuesday, July 1.—The Orleans Princes, Nemours, Joinville, and Aumale, have protested against the decree of the French Emperor in favour of their sisters lately issued. This protest is addressed to the members of the Corps Législatif, bearing date June 25,

[1] Lord Charles Wellesley was blind from amaurosis.—Ed.

from Claremont, and states that they would confine themselves to declaring their rejection, as far as they themselves are concerned, of an illusory reparation, and of a character exclusively pecuniary, but that they find in the preamble to that law a word against which they must loudly protest, and that word is '*Bienveillance.*' The protest goes on to say that '*Bienveillance*' can only be exercised where there is no rightful claim. 'Now our claims are founded on the authority of the law, and the justice of the country confirmed it, until the day when justice itself had to cede to force. *Bienveillance*, then, which denies a right, is therefore a new attack on the memory of our father. In 1852, a policy, accustomed to look upon money as an instrument of revolution, tried to take precautions against us by confiscating the property of our family. It endeavoured to give a colouring to the injustice and violence of its proceedings by considerations revolting to the public conscience, and against which we protested at the time. To-day, the word *Bienveillance* applied to the proposed measure implies the same idea as those considerations, and this is why we renew our protest. Perhaps, by so doing, we may be obeying a sentiment of exaggerated sensibility. When so much remains to France of the blessings of the government of our father, who dares say that he reigned only for narrow family interests? The Frenchman, ever devoted to his country, who in 1792 fought as a soldier to repel foreign invasion—the King, who for eighteen years knew how to make France free as well as prosperous—the King,

who gave it that army the heroism of which has just covered our flag with new glory—that King is for ever above the attacks of calumny.'

Had I been H.M. the Emperor, I would have avoided 'stirring that stink.'

Thursday, July 3.—In this day's Times appears a letter from the Comte de Paris, addressed to M. Roger du Nord, disclaiming all participation in the Fusion, and declaring that he, his mother and brother, are strangers to all that has been done; that he had been informed by his uncle, the Duc de Nemours, of all that had passed on the subject; and that if he does not now declare himself, it is because his age does not permit him to do so; that he has only one object in view, to render himself worthy of a possible career, and, in order to succeed, he has invariably before his eyes the will of his father, the conduct of his grandfather, and the sacred principles which founded the Constitutional Monarchy.

Thus is demolished the 'baseless fabric' of the Fusion. It has been a very ill-built affair from beginning to end. The Princesse Clementine refuses to accept the money which fell to her share by the late decree.

Friday, July 4.—Montalembert, who is detained by business in the provinces, and unable to take part in the debate on the Projet de Loi relative to the concession of 600,000fr. Rentes to the princesses of Orleans, has addressed a letter to Morny, as president of the Corps Législatif, rejecting with the utmost force of his conviction the provisions of that

law, and after giving his reasons for so doing (which I think are unanswerable) he concludes his letter thus:—'If by chance there are to be found in the world princes so humble, so forgetful of the honour of the blood of which they are the issue, as to accept such a benefit, I will not be among the number of the legislators who would inflict on them such a humiliation. In forming that resolution, I am influenced by no considerations of party or of persons. If, which God forbid, the princes of the House of Bourbon could ever be induced to act in a similar manner to the princes of the Napoleonic dynasty, I should have the same feeling, and hold the same language, for I am one of those who serve justice and not fortune.'

This letter will make a noise in France. The Emperor has been ill-advised in re-opening the odious subject of the Orleans confiscations.

Shelburne is to be called to the House of Lords, and to be Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, *vice* Lord Wodehouse. I think this a capital appointment.

Sir F. Williams of Kars is to come in for Calne.

Monday, July 7.—The King of the Belgians is here. It is owing to his exertions through the Prince de Chimay, and to those of the Würtemburg minister in favour of the son of the late Princesse Marie, that the Emperor has been induced to reverse the decree which affected their dowers. The Prince de Chimay represented on the part of the Duc de Brabant (with incredible baseness) that it was pain-

ful to him, after the kindness he had met with from the Emperor at Paris, to feel that he remained under the ban of this decree. The Emperor said the only way in which he could do it was by 'invoking the international character of the convention entered into upon the marriage of these princesses, and the "relations d'amitié" which had been "renouées," et même créées entre les souverains de l'Europe par le traité du 30 mars.' The Emperor thought that if he yielded to this disgraceful importunity, the Duc de Montpensier ought to be included in the reversal of the decree; but on its being represented to him that it would be unbecoming if not impossible to make an exception in his favour, the Projet de Loi has been confined to the three princesses. The Duc de Montpensier has also protested against the 'Acte' in the same form as his brothers. I should think our Queen must be shocked at the shabby conduct of some of her relations.

Wednesday, July 9.—The Queen slept on Monday in her 'hut' or pavilion at Aldershot, in order to review the troops yesterday. The weather was very unpropitious, as it rained in torrents the whole day, and H.M. was unable to do more than make a short inspection during an interval of ten minutes, and to deliver to a certain number of men of all ranks, selected from each regiment, a graceful speech, thanking them, and through them the whole army, for their valour and endurance throughout the Crimean campaign, and expressing her sorrow for the brave men who had fallen and suffered therein.

She did this remarkably well, and was of course tumultuously cheered.

Lord Hardinge, whilst sitting in conversation with the Queen, was seized with a fit, and in endeavouring to prevent himself from falling laid hold of a small table, which rolling away from him, he fell and dislocated his ankle. He was removed to London, and will probably be obliged to resign his office, and be succeeded, it is supposed, by the Duke of Cambridge.

On Tuesday I met Madame Ristori at dinner, and sat next to her. She is gay and agreeable, and, like Italians in general, free from affectation.

Thursday, July 10.—Yesterday the Guards made their triumphal entry into London, and were reviewed by the Queen in Hyde Park. I saw the spectacle from the window of Charles Sartoris's house, at the end of St. James's Street facing Pall Mall. The crowds were immense, and the enthusiasm very great. They marched by the Queen, who was stationed on the balcony of Buckingham Palace, and after they were formed in Hyde Park H.M. proceeded in great state to review them. She was tremendously cheered along the whole route, and the park was entirely filled with pedestrians, no carriages or horses being permitted to enter it. Everything passed off well, and nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the people for the troops, who, when the Queen left the field, broke through the lines kept by the sentries and the police, and rushed up to the soldiers, to welcome them with every demonstration

of cordiality. The day, though not warm, was fine, and no accidents occurred.

Holland House, Saturday, July 12.—Lord Hardinge has resigned, and the Duke of Cambridge is appointed. For a wonder, I have heard no objection to the choice.

Tuesday, July 15.—Last night, Lord Lyndhurst in the Lords, and J. Russell in the other House, called attention to the affairs of Italy. Clarendon and Palmerston of course replied, but nothing particular was elicited by the discussion, except that the correspondence was still proceeding; and Palmerston said no occasional disappointment should induce them to desist from endeavouring to accomplish the object they all had in view, and that it would be unbecoming of them to state what steps they might think it right to take. Both ministers spoke strongly of their entire disapproval of the conduct of the King of Naples. The general opinion is that the Philo-Italian movement will end in *talk*.

The Appellate Jurisdiction Bill was referred to a select committee—virtually thrown out—by a considerable majority of the House of Commons on the motion of Raikes Currie, seconded by E. Denison. No one regrets it.

I went yesterday morning to Ristori's benefit, when she acted Francesca da Rimini—a dull play, and in a small comedy called 'I Gelosi fortunati.' She was admirable in both, but the tragedy is a bore. In the comedy she was very droll.

She went the same evening to see Robson act

Medea in a burlesque of her famous part, and was much diverted.

I dined at Holland House. Carafa told me he had seen Carini, the Neapolitan minister, who was, or pretended to be, well satisfied with Palmerston's answer to John Russell. I asked why; and he said, because Palmerston merely spoke of *persuasion* being resorted to, and made no mention of *force* being used to bring the King to reason.

Holland House, Friday, July 18.—Slept here last night. E. Ellice dined. He believes the life peerage affair was originally concocted between Prince Albert and Granville, taken up by the Chancellor, who, though an excellent man, had got the Government into various scrapes, owing to his unfitness for his office; and that Palmerston had agreed to it with great levity, and did not think it worth while to bring it before the Cabinet, although it was a question of great constitutional importance.

Sunday, July 20.—Ladies Morley and Ashburton, Lord Lansdowne, Macaulay, E. Cheney, Prosper Mérimée, Panizzi, and Senior dined here. Nothing is so wonderful as the *universal* knowledge of Macaulay. Lord L. asked him if it were likely that Sir Joshua had painted the Earl of Bath, because a portrait of him had been proposed to Lord L. Macaulay immediately said, 'Why not?' He died in a certain month of a certain year (both of which he named), and the only reason against its being by Sir Joshua is that Lord Bath was very stingy, and perhaps would not have paid a high price for his portrait even to Rey-

nolds. 'But then, again,' said Macaulay, 'Sir Joshua's early portraits were not very highly paid.'

It was a question of Shakespeare's religion. Some one said he was probably a Protestant, and quoted the famous lines of 'King John' as a proof. Macaulay said the lines of the ghost in Hamlet relating to purgatory might be adduced in favour of a contrary assumption, and that Shakespeare never spoke of monks and other Catholic institutions but with respect: probably, he said, he was like many other men of that time, against the supremacy of the Pope, and that his religion floated between Protestantism and Catholicism. Prosper Mérimée is very clever, and has a shrewd countenance, but is too cynical to be pleasant. He speaks English with great fluency.

Thursday, July 24.—Went on Monday to Hatchford with Leighton, and passed all Tuesday with him and Mrs. Sartoris on St. George's Hills. The day was enchanting, and the Hills in their greatest beauty.

The newspapers are filled with the details of the *coup d'état* in Spain, under the auspices of O'Donnell, who has overthrown the Espartero Ministry, and declared martial law all over Spain. It appears to be a close imitation of the *coup d'état* of December 2. The Bishops' Retirement Bill was carried last night in the House of Commons by a majority of 71.

Hatchford, Thursday, July 31.—I came here on Monday with Mrs. Craven to join my mother, who is residing here. I went the same morning to see

Ristori in 'Pia de' Tolomei,' in which her acting is wonderful, but the subject of the play most painful.

I passed Sunday at Holland House. The Lyndhursts were there. He is marvellous for his age, taking the most lively interest in everything grave or gay, and enjoying fun and gossip as much as any boy of seventeen. The weather is deliciously hot and enjoyable.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on Tuesday. The life peerage affair has ended in the creation of an hereditary peerage in favour of Parke by the same title, but of a different place from that of the life peerage. He very properly declined paying the fees of a new patent.

Hatchford, August 11.—For the most part of this month I have been staying at Holland House, revelling in the delightful hot weather we have had for the last three weeks, which admitted of our sitting in the garden until late at night. There was, as usual, a succession of people of all sorts, dining and staying in the house, and amongst the latter the Comte and Comtesse Castiglione (*née* Oldorni), whose beauty made so much noise at Paris this last winter. She is very handsome, and somewhat eccentric. Unbounded curiosity was evinced by the few people who remained in town to see her, and they came flocking to Holland House for the purpose, but were as often as not baffled by the capricious Countess. The Duke of Cambridge was asked to dine there on Saturday, but declined on account of the precarious state of the Duchess of Gloucester.

Gerald Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, to the great surprise of the fashionable world, marries Miss Lily Montagu.[1] His age must be nearly double that of his future bride.

I came here on Friday. The heat continues to be excessive, and is supposed to be owing to the advent of a comet, which appeared in King Alfred's time, and again in the reign of Charles I. It was also said by the wise in these matters that on this day there would be a fall of meteoric stones; and there certainly has been a very remarkable number of falling stars during the last few days, proving the atmosphere to be in a very electrical state.

Wednesday, August 13.—I never remember such glorious weather as we have been enjoying for the last three weeks; and a sharp thunderstorm which visited us a few days ago has not, as generally is the case, broken up the summer, but cooled the air, and it is more delicious than ever. At Paris the thermometer has been often as high as 96° in the shade, whilst in Scotland they have been deluged with rain, and the crops are still green from want of sun, and laid low.

Holland House, August 17.—Slept here last night, and found the beauty Castiglione replaced by Thiers and Pontois. The former has been visiting the Duchess of Orleans in Germany; and not wishing it to be supposed that he was actuated by any feelings of hostility towards the other members of the family, he has come here on purpose to pay his respects at

[1] The Hon. Magdalen Montagu, daughter of Lord Rokeby.—Ed.

Claremont and Twickenham, and Pontois told me the princes were well satisfied with his visit. I asked Pontois what was the real history of what had lately taken place with respect to the *fusion*. He said that a year ago Count Molé, Duchatel, Guizot, and other leading men of the Orleans party, and partisans of the fusion, thought that it was desirable '*de faire une démarche*;' that, in consequence, it had been arranged that the Duc de Nemours should pay a visit to the Comte de Chambord; that this interview had gone off most satisfactorily, and that although there had been no discussion either as to the future or on the subject of the '*drapeau*,' the Duc de Nemours and his brothers had the 'intime conviction' that there was no difference of opinion upon these subjects, and that the Comte de Chambord would adopt the tricolour flag. Subsequently, when Queen Marie Amélie was residing at Nervi, the Comte de Chambord spontaneously went to see her, and was very cordial in his manner and expressions. The Queen returned this visit, and took her grandchildren with her, and the Comte de Chambord again came to Nervi, in order to spend another day with his aunt. It was during *this* visit that the subject of the *drapeau* was alluded to, and that when pressed to say positively what were his feelings on the matter, he declined to give any engagement. He said he did not think the time come for making any declaration, and that it would be for France '*de se prononcer*.' This was of course considered as a decided *échec* by the Duc de Nemours and party, who felt that their position was become

'fausse,' and that that of the Duchess of Orleans and the anti-fusionists had proportionally acquired strength. *Sur ces entrefaits* the Duc de Nemours considered it was fitting that the Comte de Paris should be informed of all that had passed between himself and the Comte de Chambord; and on his relating to him what had occurred, he was much disconcerted to find that the Comte de Paris received his communication very coldly, and after thanking his uncle, said 'Qu'il remerciait sa mère de l'avoir laissé complètement libre;' which meant that he did not mean to acknowledge the fusion. This was of course a blow to that cause; and a still heavier one was soon after dealt by a foolish letter written by the Comte de Paris, which, though by way of being private, was evidently meant to be circulated, and did not produce a good effect. I asked Pontois what Thiers thought of the letter. He answered that although he approved 'le fond,' he objected to it as inopportune, and disapproved 'les lettres des Princes.' 'Du reste,' said Pontois, 'M. Thiers parle toujours avec respect de M. le Comte de Chambord, et il est convaincu que, si la Monarchie doit être rétablie, elle ne pourra l'être que par la Maison de Bourbon réunie. Il désire un Gouvernement monarchique et constitutionnel, et il a même souvent dit que "Despotisme pour despotisme, je préférerais toujours celui de Henri V. à celui de cet homme-ci."'

Thiers seems to be on the best terms with the Orleans family, and has spent the greater part of every day there. On Friday the Chreptovichs (she

was Nesselrode's daughter) came here—he is lately arrived as Russian minister. They brought Schouvaloff with them, the son of my old friend Grégoire, who is now become a Ramalite monk. Lady Palmerston was here, and said they had good accounts of the Granvilles from St. Petersburg. Esterhazy, drolly enough, and to the malicious satisfaction of the Russian Court, had forgotten to bring with him his credentials, and had consequently not only not been invited to the imperial diplomatic dinner, but although first arrived would rank *last* of the ambassadors.

The young Lord Shrewsbury has just died. He was a very sickly youth, and had been *swallowed up* by the priests. It is supposed his title will go to Lord Talbot. The Roman Catholics will be much relieved to hear that Lord Shrewsbury has left everything he had in his own power to the Duke of Norfolk's second son.

The Aumales, Duke and Duchess of Wellington, and others dined here on Saturday. The Duc d'Aumale is really a charming prince and excellent member of society, and has made to himself a most excellent and becoming position in this country.

Friday, August 23.—There has appeared in all the newspapers the epitome of the reply of the King of Naples to the representations made to him by the Western Powers. It is insolent and recriminatory, but adroit. The Times answers it in one of its most powerful articles, which, however, will not be very effective or influential on the royal mind, since

it concludes by saying that it is not expedient that the Western Powers should take any active measures (which is the only thing H.M. dreads), though it adds it may be sufficient that the Two Sicilies should be fully aware that France and England are no ways disposed to assist in riveting the chains of her Majesty's subjects, and that future events may safely be left to the instincts of men and to opportunity.

There is a very droll account of the arrival at Southampton of the Queen of Oude, with an enormous retinue, including six eunuchs. During the voyage the Queen and princesses were kept studiously from view. Each princess disembarked closely veiled and led by a eunuch. A sedan chair was then seen to emerge from the ship with the blinds drawn down, and having been brought close to the carriage in attendance, a mass of drapery was thrown over both, and H.M. passed from one to the other without any profane eye having fallen upon her.

Friday, August 29.—Since Friday last I have been staying at Holland House, where a variety of people have been staying on and off; and amongst them several Frenchmen—Dumont, Roger, Mérimée, Pontois.

Dumont, Roger, and Pontois attended the annual ceremony for the repose of King Louis Philippe's soul at the Weybridge Chapel, to which the adherents of the Orleans family generally flock over in large numbers. This year they were fewer than usual. The Chreptovichs, lately appointed here, have been to Holland House several times.

William Temple[1] died on Sunday last. He had been minister at Naples for twenty-three years, and was much liked and respected there. Louis Blanc has published a letter he has received from some of the Cayenne prisoners giving details of the cruelties they are subjected to, which, if true, are monstrous. They are, however, stoutly denied by the organs of the French Government.

Hatchford, Sunday, September 7.—I came here on the 30th, and found Charles and Mrs. Craven. She received a letter from Lady Granville from Moscow, with amusing details of their proceedings there. The Emperor had received the mission very civilly, and with one or two exceptions had been fortunate in his remarks to the divers members of it.

He says the expense of the living at Moscow is enormous. The Empress was as gracious as 'son aspect sec et dur le comportait.' Ladies Stafford and Emily Peel were much admired. The Emperor made his solemn entry into Moscow on the 29th. The newspapers state that it rained the whole day. If this happened the day of the coronation the ceremony was to be postponed, much to the annoyance of those who were obliged to incur such enormous expenses during the *fête*. Here the weather is beautiful. The Queen, it is said, is to send the Garter to the Sultan, 'adding thereby another link to the bond which includes the Porte within the European system.'

The Queen of Oude has removed to London, with

[1] Sir William Temple, brother of Lord Palmerston.—Ed.

a suite of 110 people, and is living in three or four houses in the vicinity of the New Road. The object of her visit to this country is to procure the reversal of the decree, nominally executed by the E.I. Company, to depose the King and confiscate his kingdom, and to compel his retirement on a pension of 150,000*l.* per annum. The King had misused his crown, power, and dignity by indulging in every profligacy and cruelty, and his former subjects would be great losers were her Majesty to succeed in the object of this pilgrimage.

Tuesday, September 9.—I have a long letter from Fanny Kemble, from America, which does not give a satisfactory account of public affairs there. She says, 'The whole state of this country, moral, social, and political, makes one's hair stand on end with amazement and apprehension, and to what issue it is driving, with its magnificent freight of unparalleled material prosperity, it is hard and sad to surmise. Everything is horribly distasteful to me here. The theory of the Government still obtains my entire adherence, but the people, instead of improving, appear to me to have deteriorated; and the saddest thing of all is to hear the best people here themselves speak of their own condition. Meantime the material prosperity of the country is a marvel, and the vigour, activity, prosperity, and success of all but the noblest interests of the nation is a portentous spectacle, that fills one with regret as well as admiration and apprehension.'

Wednesday, September 10.—The newspapers are

filled with details of the Emperor Alexander's public entry into Moscow, which, as a pageant, appears to have surpassed any that was ever before witnessed, for its picturesque pomp, and the display of mingled barbarous and civilised splendour.

Holland House, Sunday, September 14.—I came here yesterday for a night to say adieu to the Hollands, who are going abroad. In passing through London I was delighted to meet Pahlen again, after an absence of two years, caused by the war.

The King of Naples has addressed another Note to the Western Powers, in order to efface the bad impression of the first one, which was considered offensive and impertinent. This second Note is dated August 28; it expresses the King's regret that the Courts of Paris and London should have supposed any intention existed on his part to offend them, and his Majesty's conviction that the advice they thought fit to offer him was tendered in the best spirit. He adds that he is himself a better judge of the dangers which may threaten his states than those Governments can be which are interested in depicting 'La situation comme grosse d'orages,' alluding, no doubt, to Piedmont. His Majesty declares formally that he never attributed to the Western Powers any desire on their part of encouraging revolution, and he hopes that all their former amicable relations may be restored. With reference to this subject the Times and the Observer of this day publish articles, which evidently emanate from official sources, stating that

France and England have presented identical, though not *joint* Notes, demanding that an amnesty for political offenders should at once be granted, and particularly that Poerio and Settembrini should be set at liberty, and that the laws of the land should be fairly acted upon, warning the Neapolitan Government that if this demand were not complied with, the French and English Governments would consider it necessary, in case a revolution ensued in consequence of the King persisting in his present policy, to send a combined squadron of vessels to the Bay of Naples and to Sicily, to protect their respective subjects. All these Notes and *pourparlers* may perhaps end in the King's releasing some of the more conspicuous prisoners, and in giving assurance of his excellent intentions of administering the laws of his kingdom, which will prevent our sending any ships of war, and enable us to retire from a difficult position, in which we have placed ourselves; and matters will gradually resume their usual course in that miserable country.

Hatchford, Saturday, September 20.—I returned here on the 15th. I saw an amusing letter from Lady Granville to Lady Sydney, written after the entry of the Emperor into Moscow, which she describes as a scene of marvellous splendour. She says our Embassy is very popular, owing probably to Granville having been able at once to begin his hospitality on arriving at Moscow, whilst the other ambassadors found everything unprepared. Lady Granville had been received by the Imperial family, and is immensely struck by the

prodigious magnificence of the attire of the Empress and the Grand Duchesses. The French newspaper La Presse contains the most graphic account of the ceremonies observed on this occasion.

It turns out that there never was any question of the Prince of Wales visiting Manchester; and the Queen, in reply to my sister's offer of the house at Worsley for his accommodation, expresses her astonishment that such a report should have arisen, for which there was not the smallest foundation.

The Bishop of Ripon, Longley, who was one of the tutors when I was at Christ Church, is translated to the see of Durham, and Dr. Tait, Dean of Carlisle, appointed to that of London. Both these appointments are considered judicious. Longley has for some time transacted the whole business of the diocese of Durham, during the illness of the late Archbishop, and he and Dr. Tait have the reputation of being moderate men.

Mrs. Beecher Stowe is now in Scotland, and has been staying at Dunrobin, where she made herself popular by her pleasing, gentle, and unaffected manners. She has lately published a new book called 'Dred,' which contains some fine things, but is not likely, from its exaggeration, to advance the cause she has so much at heart, and which just now appears to be anything but in the ascendant in the United States. The House of Representatives has, after a long struggle, passed the Army Appropriation Bill, without the clause which prohibits the employment of the Federal troops in Kansas. Government

had begun to discharge the workmen in the military departments, which soon would have caused the cities to swarm with 'victims' created by the policy of the free soilers, so that the more moderate men began to be alarmed at the prolongation of this long constitutional struggle. Great endeavours, however, were being used to prevent the extension of slavery in Kansas during the recess, where the no-slavery party for the moment had in various bloody encounters succeeded in driving out the free-soil party.

Thursday, September 25.—Lord Hardinge died yesterday morning at his place near Tunbridge. He had never recovered from the attack which seized him at Aldershot in the summer, when conversing with the Queen in her tent. He was a brave and kind-hearted man, but although he has filled several of the highest offices, he could not be considered a man of first-rate ability, and in the chief command of the army he often showed a want of decision, and had the reputation (whether deserved or not I cannot say) of being too much under the influence of the Court.

I saw a letter from Ailesbury, from Moscow, giving details of the great reviews there. They were on an enormous scale, and he seems to have been struck most by the cavalry—the horses, and the excellent riding of the troops. He says that both the Emperor and Empress had an air of profound melancholy in the midst of all the pomp and splendour which surrounded them. They were very civil to all the English, and it appears to be admitted on all hands that our Embassy has been the most successful in its arrange-

ments, and to have done more for society than any of the others.

Granville writes to Palmerston that at first he was told the coronation would cost 1,500,000*l.* of our money, but he had since been informed that three millions sterling would barely cover the expenses, and he believed it.

Sunday, September 28.—The Naples affair remains *in statu quo.* I believe that if the King continues obstinate our ships are to go, and our Legation and that of France are to come away. This policy appears to me rather dangerous, and to be pregnant with future difficulties. In the first place, if the King does not yield, how are we to compel him to do so unless we are prepared to bombard Naples? Then, if our remonstrances have the desired effect, will not this interference establish a very dangerous precedent, supposing it should at any time suit 'our great ally' to interfere on the Rhine, in Piedmont, or elsewhere?

Worsley, Wednesday, October 1.—I came here yesterday. Found no one but the family, and Sir Robert and Lady Gerard. In this day's paper there is a Russian circular, which appears to me to be of considerable importance. It is addressed by Gortchakoff to all the Russian diplomatic agents, and its purport is to dispute the right of the Western Powers to interfere in the affairs of Greece and Naples, which he considers to be a direct contradiction of the principles of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 'which had been invoked to re-establish the normal

state of the international relations of Europe.' After deploring the state of things existing between the Western Powers and the Greek and Neapolitan Governments, it proceeds to say that it is the Emperor's wish that his system of foreign policy should not be a secret. It is his Majesty's desire to live on friendly terms with all Governments, and he considers the best means of doing so is not to dissimulate his views upon any of the questions which are connected with European international law. The Emperor's wish is to devote all his energies to the development of the internal resources of the country, and to occupy himself with external affairs only when the position of Russia demands it. And after saying that Russia was accused of '*bouderie*,' and of remaining silent in the presence of facts which are not considered consistent with right or justice, and that this accusation was unfounded, and that 'elle se recueillait et ne boudait pas,' he calls to mind, as regards the silence of which Russia is accused, that formerly an artificial agitation was got up against her, because her voice was always heard when she thought it necessary to support the right, that Action, which was the safeguard of many a Government, and from which Russia herself derived no advantages, was made use of to accuse her of aspiring to universal domination. She might now, if she thought proper, shelter her silence under the impression of that recollection; but the Emperor did not consider such an attitude suitable to a Power to which Providence had assigned in Europe the place

which Russia occupies there. The voice of the Emperor would always be heard when he feels it his duty to express his opinion; that, as regards the employment of his material power, the Emperor reserves this for his free consideration. His policy is national, and not egotistical; and though he places the interests of his own people on the first line, he does not admit that even the service of those interests can excuse the violation of the rights of others.

This circular makes a great sensation at Paris, where of course it meets with more favour than with us. It is reported that a Russian fleet is ordered to the Mediterranean, which if true can only mean a demonstration in favour of the King of Naples, and would be merely a very empty bravado; and I don't believe it. In the meantime it is believed that the Western Powers are delaying their action in consequence of earnest entreaties from Austria. The Emperor returns to Paris to-day, and some manifesto will soon be issued by the Moniteur.

Saturday, October 4.—Charles sends me an interesting letter from Madame de Lieven: 'Il n'y a vraiment personne à Paris. Quelques débris du corps diplomatique—curieux—un peu inquiets; l'arrivée de l'Empereur demain est attendue avec une grande impatience. Aucun ordre définitif n'est encore parti pour Naples. Si les vaisseaux partent le Moniteur parlera Le Ministre de Naples affirme que son Maître ne cédera pas. L'opinion générale le soutient assez à Paris, et cette menace d'intervention dans les affaires intérieures d'un État indépendant

révolte toutes les notions de justice et du droit des gens. C'est vous qu'on accuse de tout cela, et on regrette que la France se laisse remorquer par vous. Il y a quelque inquiétude dans les esprits—la baisse des Fonds—le renchérissement excessif de toutes choses, la grande agglomération d'ouvriers sans abri, tout cela entretient de l'inquiétude. La présence de l'Empereur dissipera tout cela, et je crois que les ministres seront bien heureux de le voir arriver. Les Conférences vont s'ouvrir sous peu de jours. Je pense que ce sera pour s'occuper un peu de tout, car cette paix n'a rien résolu.. On ne se tue pas—voilà tout—et c'est beaucoup—mais on ne s'entend sur rien.'

To this she adds a P.S. :—'Voilà mon neveu le Comte de Benkendorff arrivant de Moscou, qui confirme et au-delà, tout ce qu'on sait du triomphe des Anglais. Granville, sa femme, toute la Société, charmants, polis, élégans. La maison admirablement montée, tout sur le plus grand pied. Tous très populaires, et ayant complètement effacé les préventions avec lesquelles ils avaient été accueillis. Une ambassade magnifique. Je suis bien aise de pouvoir encore ajouter ce petit mot.'

Sunday, October 5.—I received a letter from Lady Granville, who is as much pleased with Moscow as Moscow is with her. Her duties had finished with a great ball to the Emperor, and on the 30th they were to start westwards.

Wednesday, October 8.—The Mayor of Manchester, Mr. Watts, Sir John Potter the *ci-devant* mayor, and

Mr. Fairbairn, son of the great engineer, dined here yesterday. The last (Mr. F.) is the chief promoter of the great Exhibition of the Art Treasures of England which is to be held at Manchester next year, and for which an enormous building is now being erected. He told us he considered the success of this scheme, and the great importance it had assumed, was owing to the ready and cordial support of the Queen and Prince Albert, whose example had been quickly followed, with few exceptions, by all the owners of galleries of pictures in the kingdom. He said there would be at least 2,000 pictures, and the guarantee fund already exceeded 70,000*l.*

They hope the Queen may open, or, at all events, visit the exhibition, and on which they believe its success, in a great degree, to depend.

Monday, October 13.—A letter from Lady Holland, from Paris, speaks of the financial crisis there as exciting great uneasiness, and also of the great unpopularity of the owners of houses for the high prices they exact for lodgings, and the consequent distress of the workpeople. The Emperor having taught the lower orders to consider him, and him alone, as the Government, comes in for his share of unpopularity; and his ignorance of political economy, and his own theories of that science, are now beginning to tell against him. He shows himself a great deal, but is said to look worn and harassed. The Empress has taken to the amusement of shooting, and is said to have bagged several brace of pheasants the other day.

The Naples affair is enveloped in mystery. At Paris the common belief is that we are dragging France into this business against her will and her interests, and that the delay in acting proceeds from her reluctance to send her ships.

Tuesday, October 14.—I heard to-day of Brooke Greville's marriage to a pretty young Mademoiselle Bouchy, and of Lady Abercorn's safe delivery of a twelfth child and fifth boy.

Tuesday, October 21.—The Moniteur of Monday contains the long-expected article on the Naples affair. The purport is, that whilst advice was tendered to Belgium, and even to Greece, and civilly accepted, the counsel which the Western Powers had thought it desirable to offer, in the most amiable spirit, to the King of Naples, both in his own interest and in that of the peace of Europe, had been received with insult, and under these circumstances they had thought proper to withdraw their legations.

'They had intended no armed intervention, nor had they any desire to excite the subjects of the King of Naples to offer any resistance, but as the withdrawal of the Legations might cause some disturbance, and that their respective subjects might require protection, they had ordered their ships to proceed, not to the Neapolitan waters, but to be within call, in case their assistance should be required.'

This appears to be a very impotent conclusion to this much-bungled business, and I do not doubt that the effect of the whole affair in France will be as bad

as possible. Here all impartial persons deplore the whole proceedings, and as the moderate will be disgusted by what has been done, and the violent for what has been left undone, I expect Government will be called to a severe account whenever Parliament meets.

The French Court is gone to Compiègne, where there are to be brilliant fêtes. There is a strong belief prevailing that the Emperor is threatened with a softening of the brain. Yesterday Mr. and Mrs. Nasmyth and Mr. and Mrs. Gaskell dined here. The latter is the authoress of 'Mary Barton,' 'Ruth' and 'Cranford,' and other excellent novels. She is remarkably pleasing, unaffected, and easy in her manners, with a melodious voice in speaking. Mr. Gaskell is a Unitarian preacher at Manchester. He and Mr. Nasmyth had a discussion at dinner on the theory lately started by a writer in the Athenæum (and who wrote a letter to Ellesmere on the subject), that Lord Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays. Nasmyth is much bitten with this notion, and said that although he thought Shakespeare had put the plays on the stage, it seemed to him more probable that Lord Bacon should have written them, because he was known to have had a strong dramatic taste, and to be very philosophical, and had probably more knowledge of Italian and other foreign languages, from which the subjects of so many of the plays were taken, than Shakespeare, of whose education so little was known. Mr. Gaskell objected to this that if Bacon had written the plays, it was very unlikely,

considering the character of the man, that he would have concealed the fact. Moreover, contemporary authors, like Ben Jonson, for instance, who was known to have been very jealous of Shakespeare, would certainly have plucked the laurels from his brow, had they been able. Nasmyth did not seem shaken, which shocks Ellesmere, who has so high an opinion of him; and he said, 'He might as well think Brougham wrote the Waverley novels.' The Nasmyths are about to retire from business, and to establish themselves in Kent.

Wednesday, October 22.—Several Manchester gentlemen dined here; they were very pleasant, easy, and intelligent, without embarrassment or forwardness of manner.

Ellesmere has for some time been poorly, and suffering from weakness and shortness of breath.

Hatchford, October 27.—I left Worsley on Thursday, slept in town, and came here on Friday. Charles, Algy, and Lady Milner are here. An article appeared in the Moniteur the other day administering a rebuke to our Press for 'Les calomnies qu'elle s'attache à répandre sur le Gouvernement français.' It appeals 'au bon sens et à la loyauté du Peuple anglais, contre les dangers d'un système, qui, en détruisant la confiance entre les deux Gouvernements, s'attendrait à désunir deux nations dont l'alliance est la meilleure garantie de la paix du monde.' This article produced a 'sensation' at the Bourse, and the funds fell. The Emperor, who is impatient of any criticism, and who has taught the

world to consider the Government as centred entirely in himself, might have known that nothing can be so useless or impolitic as any such ebullition of ill-humour, or more calculated to render his person and the Government unpopular in this country. I believe the French public was entirely ignorant of the existence of these alleged calumnies.

The Moniteur of Saturday contains a correspondence between Brennier, the French Minister at Naples, and Walewski. The latter writes that the situation of Naples and Sicily constitutes a danger for the repose of Italy, and recommends the Neapolitan Government to institute certain reforms. To this the Neapolitan Minister replies that no Government has the right to interfere with the internal affairs of other States. The correspondence concludes with a despatch to Brennier ordering him to demand his passports. As the purport of these despatches was known before they appeared in the official newspaper, their publication has not made any great sensation at Paris. But the article on our Press in the Moniteur has had a very bad effect. It was inserted at the express command of the Emperor, in spite of Cowley's entreaties that he would not insist upon it. The fact is, H.I.M. cannot endure the least contradiction or even criticism upon his proceedings. There is a very temperate but true article on this subject in the Times of to-day, which will not please the Emperor, though full of respect to his person. He, of all men, might know how very little importance

is attached here to such articles as that which has given umbrage to H.I.M.

Friday, October 31.—Sir Robert Peel, who has lately returned from Russia, whither he went as one of Granville's attachés, made a speech the other day at Stafford, in which he stated that he had conversed with all sorts of remarkable naval and military officers, including the Grand Duke Constantine, and that he himself had visited the fortifications of Cronstadt, and that one and all were of opinion that Napier might have gone in and taken them had he been equal to his fleet. He made some indiscreet and foolish remarks on other subjects, which, however, the Times lets off easily, owing probably to the praise lavished by Peel on the correspondent of that journal. Sir Charles Napier has, however, replied to this harangue by telling Sir Robert that he knows nothing of the matter on which he gives his opinion so freely, that the Grand Duke Constantine had told Sir Charles a very different story, and had gone over with him the plan of the south of Cronstadt, and had convinced him of the impossibility of succeeding against it with ships. That if the Grand Duke had told Sir Robert that the northern forts might have been attacked, he would have said what was true. That they were not so was no fault of his, but that of the Admiralty, who did not furnish the requisite means either to himself or to Admiral Dundas. Napier has much the best of this affair.

Our minister and that of France were to leave Naples this day.

My time is painfully occupied in watching, I fear, the death-bed of my servant Robbins.

Sunday, November 2.—A letter received from Fanny Kemble to-day, from America, says, 'Anything like the universal contempt for authority which pervades the body, social and politic, here, it is impossible to conceive. The country is really in a portentous condition of material prosperity and moral degradation. The best people speak with shame and despondency of their national condition. Thoughtful people predict inevitable consequences of the most tremendous kind to the utter demoralisation which seems to pervade all classes.' In speaking of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's last book, 'Dred,' she says, 'I wish I were within reach of you to read "Dred" to you: not that it is so good as "Uncle Tom"—that, indeed, was impossible, for she could never write her first book again; but I think the comic part of this last one admirable, and there is a very remarkable picture given of the state of mind of a number of Southern people, who think slavery the greatest curse imaginable, but admit no way of altering the existing state of things, and sit down in a sort of stoical despondency on the top of this powder-barrel, waiting till it blows up.'

London, Friday, November 7.—Came to town on Wednesday to meet Leighton. We are very anxious at the state of Ellesmere's health.

Paul Delaroche, the celebrated French painter, died a few days ago at Paris, and was followed to the grave by a large concourse of the most remarkable

literary and artistic men in France. Apart from his talent as a painter, he was a remarkably pleasant and well-informed man. I met him several times at the Duchesse de Talleyrand's at dinner and at other places some years ago, and he pleased me particularly. He married a very pretty daughter of Horace Vernet, who died young.

Saturday, *November 8*.—The Queen, with the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, much to the disgust of the Court, who do not partake of her Majesty's present taste for soldiering, has been spending two days at the camp at Aldershot. She attended the amateur theatricals, which is carrying far her love of the drama.

Augustus Craven, who is just returned from Naples with the mission of which he was one of the attachés, called upon me to-day. He tells me the note published in the newspapers, purporting to be the King's answer to the advice tendered to him by the allies, is not genuine, but that the real one was nearly as impertinent. He does not believe in any disturbance at Naples; and Filangieri and Ischitella, although they will never take office again, will not lend themselves to any revolutionary outbreak. The King has a secret police of his own, to watch the regular police! and nothing is said or done anywhere which is not reported to him daily. He lives entirely at Gaeta, and has all the crown jewels with him, so as to be ready at any moment for a start if necessary. He thinks the allies might at any moment have brought on a revolution, but France

had no such desire, and England was indifferent upon the subject, and both Powers had grievously mismanaged the whole affair. He does not believe the King will do anything of any real use.

I called on the Granvilles, who are just returned from Russia. The Corps Diplomatique had been much diverted by a piece of *parvenuism* of Morny —whose house was close to that of the Princess Kotchenberg, where they were invited in a body to see the entry of the Emperor into Moscow.

Morny took the opportunity of making a long *détour* through the streets to show his equipages, and made the Prince de Bauffremont and the Marquis de Gallifet ride at each side of the *portières* of his carriage, in which he alone sat forwards, his secretary Baudin occupying the opposite place. This, as might be expected, created great hilarity and ridicule at Paris.

An article has lately appeared in the Constitutionnel, a strong Government paper, violently attacking the English Government for wishing to *tear in pieces* the Treaty of Paris, and insinuating that the Anglo-French alliance is in danger. This, as proceeding from an organ of the Government, and following so closely upon the attack of the Moniteur on our Press, has made so great a sensation, that it has been deemed necessary to publish a disclaimer in the Moniteur, couched in very decided terms. It says that the Constitutionnel contained an article upon a point in dispute on external affairs, which they would be sorry to allow to be supposed had emanated from

the Government; 'that to envenom a discussion is not the way to facilitate its solution. That England and France, who carried on the war together, and concluded peace, and who are agreed on all the great questions of the day, are divided in opinion upon one of very minor interest. Will this difference be decided by a preliminary arrangement or by conference? This is the only thing to be decided. But under all circumstances they entertain the strong conviction that this difficulty will soon be removed without running upon the double shoal of weakening the English alliance, and of failing to fulfil engagements contracted.' From all I hear, the English alliance is as odious as ever in France, and the Emperor deserves credit for doing his best to maintain it in spite of its unpopularity.

Palmerston, accompanied by Lady P., has been staying at Sir B. Heywood's, and '*starring it*' at Manchester. He received addresses from all the corporate bodies and institutions, and made some good speeches, which were enthusiastically received. Peace and progressive improvement were his mottoes. But he said nothing of the future, wherein he was right.

Monday, November 10.—A letter from Lady Holland says, 'The proceedings at Compiègne are very ridiculous, and the French hate the whole affair, and it breeds discontent. The Sœurs de Charité make *des rapports*, and the Government says, never were these *rapports* more frightful. These women say they never found more discontent or more dis-

affection, and you know they have no party feeling, and only say what they see.'

I have heard this confirmed on the best authority. France is a network of socialism and conspiracy, and this is even said to be creeping into the army. The Government is aware of this, as was that of Louis Philippe in 1847, but is not more able than its predecessor to get at the root of these conspiracies. The great distress in France, owing in a great measure to the natural calamities with which she has been visited—famine, failure of vintage, inundations, &c.—of course increases discontent; and as the Emperor has taught his subjects to consider him as the whole and sole Government, all the responsibility and odium of such calamities fall upon his shoulders. The people are disgusted too, in the midst of their distress, to hear of the lavish splendour of his Court, of his ostentatious progresses from one palace to another, and of the notorious gambling speculations of his *entourage*. With regard to the difference respecting the Treaty of Paris, between the two Governments, it seems that things have come to a dead lock. The Emperor, who, unless roused by some near danger, is idle and hates details, and is, moreover, very ignorant, appears not to have troubled himself with those of the treaty. When at Biarritz, in the absence of the Cowleys, Walewski and Brunnow got hold of him, and induced him to pledge himself to the line now taken by Russia in the Belgrade question. When Cowley saw the Emperor at Compiègne, he took an opportunity of placing the matter

before him in its true light, and for the first time hearing the truth, H.M. said to Cowley he regretted he had not been better informed; that had he been so, he should not have taken the course he did in this business, but that having done so, he did not see how he could recall his promise, 'et voilà où en sont les choses.'

Tuesday, November 11.—The Ellesmeres came to town last night. He is, I fear, very ill, and is to consult Dr. Bright (a famous specialist).

The Queen has put off the plays and other festivities in honour of the Prince of Wales's birthday, owing to the illness of her half-brother, the Prince of Leiningen.

November 12.—The Prince of Leiningen is dead; also a much more important person, Prince Michel Woronzow, at Odessa. The news reached London yesterday at eleven o'clock, the event having taken place the day before at four o'clock. He was a very eminent man, and will be remembered in Russia chiefly for his admirable administration of the Caucasian provinces, of which he has been many years Governor. He bore the highest character for rectitude and single-mindedness, and is an immense loss to the Emperor.

Sir Alexander Cockburn is appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, *vice* Jervis, with the promise, it is said, of a peerage by-and-by, which is considered as rather an unconstitutional contingency, infringing on the principle that judges are finally removed from Government influence. James Wortley

resigns the Recordership of London, and is appointed Solicitor-General.

Lady Holland writes to me from Paris, 'We have no evening parties. *Creeds* are so venomous against each other, and the English papers publish such articles, that conversation becomes impossible, unless you can choose friends from whom you accept everything *en bonne part*. These articles have contributed to *settling* Walewski in his place. I believe he might have been dismissed but for the Times and Morning Post. How we are hated by them all! and shall we succeed in keeping the alliance? I really begin to doubt it. The Emperor is the only one who keeps hold, because he believes it to be his interest; but all who surround him work hard against us, and we have no art in our diplomacy. We are violent and repulsive, and our Press hopeless. *Qui vivra verra!*' Lady H. alludes to an article of the Times, written with the seeming intention of dictating to the Emperor to dismiss his ministers, which of course could have no other effect but that of fixing them in office.

The newspapers are full of the ceremonial observed on the investiture of the Sultan with the Garter. The plenipotentiaries were Lord Stratford and Sir G. Young, Garter. One of the oaths is, or used to be, 'to pursue the infidel to the death.' The Sultan, I believe, swore to observe the statutes of the order only so far as he could do so consistently with the precepts of the Koran.

London, Friday, December 12.—For the last month

my time and thoughts have been painfully engrossed by Ellesmere's dangerous illness. All last week was one of great suspense. On Saturday some improvement manifested itself in the symptoms, and the amendment has continued ever since. Immediate danger is at an end, but anxiety for the future must continue.

I have passed much of my time during the last week at the Brompton Hospital, where Robbins is dying. He is well cared for there, and on the whole the hospital is well conducted, although much more might be done at little cost, which would conduce to the comfort of the patients—more privacy, less noise might easily be contrived. Robbins, though suffering greatly, is peaceful in mind, and full of gratitude to me.

The question of the reassembling of the Paris Conference has of late agitated the public mind. It is demanded by Russia, agreed to by France, but resisted by us, because we know that, Sardinia not choosing to vote with Austria, we should be left in a minority. But Sardinia having *ratted* to our side, this difficulty is removed, and we have consented to the renewal of the Conference, with the conviction that everything is to be settled according to our views. The Emperor has no objection to this result. He wished for the reassembling of the Conference because, in an unguarded moment, he had committed himself to the Russian view of the points in dispute, and did not know how to retract his promise. The whole thing is a farce, and it would seem, from the

manner in which the matter is discussed in the newspapers, to be *le secret de la comédie.*

There has been an attempt on the life of the King of Naples by a soldier during a review, and some disturbance in Sicily, which was quickly put down. The two things, I believe, were in no way connected, but will serve to strengthen the King in his resistance to the demands of France and England.

Sunday, December 14.—Francis better, and moved from his bed to another room last night. Poor Robbins still alive, and suffering dreadfully. He prays to be released, and told me to-day his mother like him had been ill five years, and had died on the 24th of this month, just five years ago. He prayed that he might join her soon in heaven; and I pray too that it may be so, for his sufferings are dreadful to witness.

As is usual shortly before the meeting of Parliament, various rumours of political changes are afloat. One is that, owing to Granville's bad health, overtures have been made through the Duke of Bedford by Palmerston to John Russell, with a view to his acceptance of a peerage and the leadership of the House of Lords; that Granville should succeed Cowley at Paris, where the latter, owing to the bad terms existing between him and Walewski, is in a false and inconvenient position; and that Cowley should be transplanted to Constantinople. if Lord Stratford could be in any way induced to resign—the most improbable of any of the above possible events. The least improbable contingency is the desire on the

part of Palmerston to conciliate John Russell, though not at the expense of the *dethronement* of Granville. Should, however, the health of the latter render desirable his removal to a less laborious office, I think the Paris Embassy would perhaps be the office he would best suit, and which would the best suit him.

Another rumour is that the Conservatives are coquetting with Gladstone, and that a large section of the party is willing to accept him as their leader *vice* Disraeli. If this be so, a strange change is come over the spirit of their dream. For on the last occasion of Derby's endeavouring to procure Gladstone's co-operation, the whole party publicly declared they would rather break up entirely than admit such a 'traitor' into their camp.

Thursday, December 18.—The Moniteur contains a curious article on the subject of Neuchatel. It states that the King of Prussia having demanded the friendly offices of France to obtain from the Government of Switzerland the liberation of the prisoners taken in the late disturbances there, the Government of the Emperor had accepted that task, intimating at the same time, 'qu'il contractait par là une sorte d'obligation d'empêcher tout conflit armé, et de faire des efforts pour obtenir du roi de Prusse un règlement définitif de la question, conformément aux vœux de la Suisse. Mais le Gouvernement Fédéral a mieux aimé céder aux influences démagogiques qui s'agitent autour de lui, et il ne devra pas s'étonner si, dans la marche des événemens, il ne trouve pas le bon vouloir qu'il lui était si facile de s'assurer, au prix d'un léger sacrifice.'

It is stated in the public prints at Berlin and elsewhere, that in the event of the Swiss Government holding out, the King of Prussia, with the consent of France, will make an armed demonstration, and that the 'mobilization de l'armée Prussienne récemment démontée est maintenant énoncée comme prochaine.' The young Prince of Prussia has just paid a visit to the Emperor, who took him to Fontainebleau, and entertained him with magnificence.

The man who attempted the life of the King of Naples was hanged two days ago. All the higher orders flocked in crowds to congratulate the King on his escape, and appear to be overflowing with loyalty.

Christmas Day.—The newspapers and the public generally are much occupied with the great increase of crime—of murders, of burglary, and *garotting*. This last accomplishment is become very inconvenient, and hardly a day passes that, in the most frequented streets, adventures of the kind do not occur. In many places the police has been doubled, but as yet the evil has in no way been diminished. All this is attributed in a great degree to the ticket-of-leave system, and a great controversy is going on in the public press between the advocates and opponents of it; but it appears to me that it has not yet been tried long enough to enable one to form a decided opinion on the subject. A curious thing happened the other day in Mr. W. P.'s establishment. One of his footmen, who had lived three years with him, suddenly gave warning. On being asked why, he replied that he had had a quarrel with the butler, who knew that

he was a ticket-of-leave man, and having told all the other servants, it became impossible for him to remain. On Mr. P. asking the man what had been his offence, he answered, 'Something to do with murder!' He had conducted himself with great propriety since he had been in Mr. P.'s service.

Poor Robbins died yesterday morning, after great suffering for the last few days. I was not present at his death, but the patients of the same ward told me that he died easily. It is remarkable that he had repeatedly said to me he hoped to meet his mother in heaven—she had died after five years' illness on December 24, five years ago; and that he had dreamt that she had distinctly called to him to join her. Robbins died on the anniversary of her death, and just five years after he was taken ill.

Wednesday, December 31.—The Paris Conference was to begin its sitting yesterday. Flahault tells me everything is settled *d'avance*, and the Conference will soon be closed. I met M. de Persigny there, and was introduced to him. He has an odd, absent manner, but is said to be sharp and honest, and sincerely devoted to the English alliance. He and Walewski are on the worst terms, and Persigny makes no secret of his aversion to and distrust of his chief.

We were surprised on Monday by the publication of a telegraphic despatch announcing that we are at war with China—that Canton had been bombarded, the forts taken, and many war junks burnt. As yet we are ignorant of the cause of this sudden explosion, and must wait for details. The proceedings

were conducted by Admiral Sir Michael Seymour. This year is first and chiefly remarkable for the signature of peace, and then for an enormous increase of crime, of murders, especially by poison; of vast embezzlements, and great defalcations and insolvencies. The subject of the ticket-of-leave men greatly occupies public attention, and there can be no doubt that an endeavour will be made in the course of the next session to revise and amend this law.

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